# The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 16, 1899.

## The Week.

The difference between the McEnery resolution adopted by the Senate on Tuesday and the substitute offered by Mr. Bacon of Georgia is not great. Both protest that the United States has no intention of permanently annexing the Philippines, and both look to the ultimate self-government of the islanders. Mr. Bacon, however, contemplates the erection under our control (if not by our initiative) of "a stable and independent government," whereupon we are to "leave the government and control of the islands to their people." Mr. McEnery would give the islands "a government suitable to the wants and conditions of the inhabitants," as a preparation for self-government, and "in due time make such disposition" of them "as will best promote the interests of the citizens of the United States and the inhabitants of said islands" (mark the order). In practice, it will be found that we shall maintain our sovereignty as long as we please, in default of a fixed policy to withdraw at once and let the Filipinos begin the art of self-government as soon as our last ship and our last soldier leave the scene. There was a tie vote on the Bacon substitute, and the Vice-President turned the scale against it—a fact of some significance in case anything should happen to Mr. McKinley before the expiration of his term.

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The President has done now what he should have done five or six months ago, appointed a court of inquiry to go to the bottom of the army scandals. This is the only course authorized by law and as such competent to bring out the truth, as was repeatedly pointed out last September, when the President was considering the matter. He refused to follow it then, and adopted the expedient of a commission which had no authority to compel the attendance of witnesses or to administer oaths, and which, from the time of its selection to the present moment, has commanded the confidence of nobody. Its report was so thoroughly discredited in advance that the President himself was compelled to confess its worthlessness by appointing a new investigating body to do what this one has failed to do. What he has really done is to authorize a genuine inquiry to decide whether or not his bogus inquiry has suppressed the truth. That the new body has the ability and character, as well as the power to do this, nobody will question. Its members, Gen. Wade, Gen. Davis, and Col. Gillespie, are as well fitted for the task as any officers in the army, and we shall know precisely what the facts about embalmed beef are when they have finished their work. That the conclusion will be reached very soon is a safe calculation, for Gen. Miles, upon whom the burden of proof rests, has his evidence well in hand and will be able to present it without delay.

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The Judge-Advocate had in his pocket at the Eagan trial, and should, according to army usage, have made a specification of it, a letter written in the previous July to a citizen of New York, which showed clearly that Eagan's "paper" on Gen. Miles was not the result of a sudden impulse, but was his habitual mode of meeting remonstrances on his official conduct. The reason why this letter was not produced, the historian will say, was revealed by the nature of the defence, which was insanity or hysterical excitement, induced by newspaper denunciation, for charges which Gen. Miles's subsequent revelations proved to be true, but which, at the period of the trial, it seemed possible to cover by a furious air of injured innocence. This defence again furnished the court-martial with the excuse for the recommendation to "clemency" for one of the most heinous of military offences. What will seem to the historian to clinch the proof of a "put-up job" is the President's dealing with the sentence of dismissal. Eagan was just six years from retirement by age, so his sentence is made to run, "suspension from rank and duty" for just six years, with admission to the retired list afterwards. In fact, he loses nothing by his crime and conviction, except his allowances for forage (about $75 a month), and he distinctly gains by relief from duty at his age. He will for six years lead a life of leisure on full pay. This disposition of the case, which we fully expected, will explain to a large portion of the public the reason why Alger cannot be got rid of, and do much to confirm in many minds the belief in the existence of the McKinley "Syndicate." But he is such a good man.

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The list of deaths among our troops in Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines during January, one of the healthiest months of the tropical year, contains seventy-one names, including those of a colonel, two captains, and a first lieutenant. It is probably the shortest which we can expect to have, until our troops are withdrawn in large numbers, since, aside from the warfare in the East, smallpox in Manila and yellow fever, already reported in Cuba, must be counted on to swell the roster of the victims of imperialism from day to day as the warm and rainy seasons approach. Already there are rumors that all the American troops must be out of Cuba by April 1 if serious losses are to be prevented, and the friends of the volunteers are naturally growing more and more eager for their return. To them it may be some slight consolation to realize that our troops are in very much better situations than is, for instance, the French army in Madagascar. Its death-rate per hundred is from seventy to seventy-five. French soldiers who survive return home prematurely aged and broken, bringing back in their systems the poison of the swamp-fevers, which can almost never be eradicated.

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Another matter bearing upon the question of health as related to the national Government still more imperatively demands action before the session expires a fortnight hence. The danger of yellow fever in the United States during the coming summer is greater than we have ever before encountered, because of the greater freedom of intercourse betwen Cuba and our Southern States since the surrender of the island by Spain. The ablest and coolest authorities are most impressive in their warnings. Dr. George R. Fowler of Brooklyn, who has been chief surgeon and medical inspector on Gen. Lee's staff since last July, has just returned from Havana, and he expresses the gravest apprehensions as to the danger of a terrible outbreak of yellow fever after the rainy season sets in. There is every reason to expect the appearance of the disease in our Southern States, and unless Congress takes early action we shall see the usual quarantine wars between the different commonwealths in the most aggravated form ever known. The Southern press is already sounding a note of alarm. The New Orleans *Times-Democrat* says that this warfare "has been going on for years, and the situation has become steadily worse instead of better, the boards getting further away and denouncing each other more savagely"; that "the story of these interstate agreements is one of failure, of loss and injury to the South, of stagnation of business, distrust, and even hostility"; and that, "if our quarantine affairs are going to be administered in this way, if there is to be a continuous struggle between the several boards, then the South has one of the greatest perils to face it has ever known." The *Times-Democrat* closes by declaring that "there is but one escape—placing the quarantine in the hands of the federal Government."

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English newspapers do not understand American squeamishness over pushing civilization forward in the Philippines

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on a powder cart. We are young and tender imperialists. The English are hardened to the business; they know all about "punitive expeditions," and are blasé in fighting now the Matabele, now the Afridi, shelling palaces in Zanzibar in order to settle the royal succession to their taste, and cramming the Bible and cotton goods down the throats of recalcitrant natives. In time we may hope to attain this high imperialistic level, but as yet we have a few dregs of republican conscience left to trouble us. Americans have queer and unpleasant sensations when they see their soldiers mowing down natives armed with bows and arrows. All accounts agree that one detachment of the insurgent army, the Ygorotes, were so armed, and that they were put forward against Krag-Jörgensens and Maxims. Of course, our troops had to cut them down like wild beasts as they did, but there must have been many an American soldier to exclaim, when all was over, as English soldiers cried out at Omdurman, "This is not a battle, but an execution."

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For the rest, the military dispositions of Gen. Otis and the conduct of the troops in action appear to have been deserving of all praise. The affair was undoubtedly far more serious than the first dispatches indicated. In fact, the test of the stuff of our soldiers was more severe than that the English army had to undergo in fighting the Dervishes. The Khalifa ordered his men out in broad daylight to charge the English on a perfectly open plain. Few of them ever got within half a mile of the English lines, the mass being slaughtered by the Lee-Metfords at a range of nearly two miles. The attack of the Filipinos was by night. In the morning our troops had to charge through jungles and rice-fields against an enemy intrenched and occupying fortified villages. A portion of the native army, as Gen. Otis reports, had arms of precision and quick-firing guns. They knew the ground, which was necessarily strange to our men. Under all these circumstances, we say, the task of our army before Manila was harder than Kitchener's before Omdurman. If the Dervishes had stayed in their works, defended by Krupp guns, and awaited assault, instead of rushing out to seek Paradise by the shortest route, the two cases would have been more nearly parallel. Of course, the critical feature of Kitchener's campaign was that he was operating at such an enormous distance from his base. A serious reverse would have meant annihilation such as befell Hicks Pasha. Gen. Otis had no such possibility of crushing disaster to disturb him.

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The selection of Mr. Samuel J. Barrows to succeed the late John Russell Young as head of the National Library is probably a gain for the service. It is, however, a concession to two mischievous pretensions—the one, the old spoils doctrine that public office is a proper refuge for politicians who have lost a job (as Mr. Barrows, whose Massachusetts constituency declined to reëlect him to the House of Representatives last November); the other, that journalists (as in Mr. Young's case) have the first claim to the most important librarianship in the country. Mr. Barrows's personal appeal to Senators to look with favor on his nomination is another unpleasant feature in connection with the filling of a post which should seek the man. However, in point of scholarship, culture, and experience in library affairs, Mr. Barrows is much better equipped than his predecessor. His Congressional career has disappointed his best friends; may he favorably disappoint in his new career those who object to the principle of his selection.

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Secretary Long has put an end to the Sampson-Schley controversy for all time. In a letter to the Senate giving the reasons which induced the President to promote Sampson over Schley, he sets forth at great length in chronological order all the official data bearing upon the campaign against Cervera's fleet, with a result which is very disastrous to Schley and extremely creditable to Sampson. He shows that Schley deliberately disobeyed orders from the Navy Department, leaving the entrance to Santiago virtually unguarded for two days, there being during that period nothing to obstruct Cervera's escape, had he attempted it, save the unarmored scout *St. Paul.* He shows also that Schley's excuse for disobeying orders, that he was short of coal, was not true, since he had on board the *Brooklyn* at the time between ten and twelve days' coal supply, and even more on the other vessels of his fleet. He shows also that in the great battle of July 3, in which Cervera's fleet was destroyed, each commanding officer proceeded on standing orders laid down by Sampson, and that from first to last he was the guiding genius of the whole affair. He shows finally that Admiral Sampson, in spite of Schley's disobedience of orders, magnanimously recommended that he should be promoted because of his services in the battle of July 3.

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A correspondent sends us a document to which we venture to call the attention of the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Howell, whose interesting explanation of the personal-baggage-inspection regulation we comment upon elsewhere. The proposal to restrict to $100 worth the amount of wearing apparel and personal effects which an American returning from Europe could bring in free, was first made in 1892. A bill making that restriction was before Congress, and the news of it reached an American in Paris. He wrote to the Committee on Ways and Means at Washington for information about the bill, and received from its clerk, Ruter W. Springer, a reply giving the text of the bill, and saying in explanation of it:

> "You will see by the opening words of the bill that 'the wearing apparel and other personal effects (not merchandise) in actual use of residents of the United States returning thereto from foreign countries' is that to which the bill refers, and European citizens visiting this country will not be inconvenienced in the slightest degree. *The bill is intended to protect domestic tailors and other laboring men who produce what may be generically known as personal effects;* and it is thought will not affect foreign commerce to any great extent. *The bill has been petitioned for by 25,000 tailors* and over 1,500 other persons."

That puts the measure on its proper ground. It is not designed to produce revenue, but to "protect domestic tailors," and was petitioned for by 25,000 tailors. Who got up these petitions? Do Shayne the furrier and his associate tailors know anything about them?

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Quay continues in that most unfortunate of rôles—a boss without prestige. On Thursday he suffered another serious setback at Harrisburg. He was afraid to stand trial in the traditional way, with the public prosecutor enjoying the immemorial right of securing a jury of men who seemed worthy of trust. So he resolved to have the Legislature abolish the old rule by passing a law which would prevent the District Attorney from "standing aside" men summoned on a jury panel whom there was good reason to suspect. It was the most impudent proposition that could be imagined, and success was the only thing that could redeem it from contempt. But the scheme has failed, for a majority of the House postponed further consideration of the matter until March 21, while the trial of Quay is set for February 27. The reverse is not only disastrous to the boss in itself, but still more so in its moral effect, since it greatly encourages his opponents and disheartens his supporters.

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A copy of the interesting circular which Mr. Croker has sent to all the members of his club, asking them to increase its membership, has been forwarded to this office. It is an extremely interesting document in many ways, but in none more so than that in which the great man reveals himself frankly as the guiding genius of the institution. He is not its President, or Secretary, or any other official. He signs himself modestly as "your fellow-member, Richard Croker"; but that he is the real boss of the club, that everything it does or thinks proceeds from him as absolutely as if the letters "D. C." on the lamp-posts of its front door actually stood for Dick Croker, is visible in every line of the circular. "There is," he says, "a

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first mortgage on our house, amounting to $125,000, which it now becomes our duty to pay off. If we all act together it need not be difficult to do this. With 2,250 names upon our roll, a simple calculation shows that, if each member brings in one new member, the initiation fees thus derived will enable the club to pay off all its debt and have a handsome surplus. That we can do this during the current year, if we make up our minds to it, admits of no doubt." Why not require every man on the city pay-rolls who has had his salary raised to join at once? That would settle the matter in a jiffy. Possibly this order has been issued already, in a secret circular. It would hardly be put on club paper as this one has been.

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The proposed police bill which has been prepared by Mr. Elihu Root, after repeated conferences with the Governor and the leaders of the Republican organization, is by all odds the best measure of the kind that has been drawn in many years. It embodies two fundamental principles that we have advocated repeatedly as the basis of real reform in police administration—a single head or Commission, and complete separation of the Bureau of Elections from the Police Department. On the latter point there is no longer room for argument. All the teachings of experience favor it, and we should have had it provided in our new charter had the framers of that instrument been less under the influence of partisan Republican considerations. The experience which we have had since Tammany got possession again, has convinced even machine Republicans that a bi-partisan board is of no use to them. They have had two Republican members of the board since Van Wyck came in, and the board is as thoroughly Tammanyite as if all four members belonged to that organization. All opposition to a single head seems to have been overcome, therefore, and that change seems to be generally conceded.

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It is to be accompanied, of course, by the establishment of an entirely independent Bureau of Elections, with a bi-partisan board of four members in control, to be appointed by the Mayor, on condition that "no more than two shall be adherents of the same political party." A bi-partisan election board is a necessity in order that the interests of no single party may dominate its action; but so long as we have a Tammany Mayor, we shall be in danger of having some such board as our present Police Board. Two Tammanyite Republicans may be assigned to sit with two Tammany Democrats, and there will be no redress. The phraseology used in the present bill is the only one which will not conflict with the Constitution. Under the phraseology the Mayor might, if he chose, appoint two Tammany men, a Socialist and a Prohibitionist, leaving the Republicans out altogether, and his act would be legal. We must in this, as in all other matters, depend for good government solely upon getting a good man for Mayor.

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The proposition of the State Board of Tax Commissioners that the Legislature shall in some way tax the deposits in the savings banks of this State will meet with no sympathy either from intelligent students of the problem of taxation or from the people at large. If all personal property were bearing a just share of the burden of taxation, something might be said in favor of bringing these deposits into the tax list. But when it is notorious that the assessors discover but a small proportion of the personal property in the State in individual hands, there is something very like injustice in the proposal to place a tax on the accumulations of people of small means because it is possible to do this when they are placed in banks, which have to make reports of their finances to a State department. Surely, the mere fact that a poor man's money *can* be found and taxed, is no reason why the force of the law should be brought to bear against it. The reasoning of the Commissioners seems very defective. They start out with the declaration that a tax of one-fourth of 1 per cent. would bring about $2,000,000 into the State Treasury, and without reducing the interest paid to the depositors. Aware, apparently, that there is something wrong in the idea that such a sum as this can be taken from any class of people without their knowing it, they next assume that it would reduce the rate of interest, but declare that this would not amount to more than one dollar a year for each depositor. The savings bank is acknowledged to perform too valuable a service for the State to have its operation hampered in this petty way. If the Commissioners would study the recommendations of such experts as the late David A. Wells, they would learn how to make personal property bear a just share of the tax burden without inflicting injustice or individual injury.

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Exactly what the "open door" means and implies has been a subject of vigorous debate ever since the phrase was invented. But Lord Charles Beresford, just arrived at San Francisco after his semi-official visit to China, imports a decidedly novel element into the definition. He gravely assures an interviewer that the open door in China involves a unified Chinese army, officered by Europeans, and armed and equipped according to the best modern standards. Precisely what relation this new Chinese army will have to the open door is not made clear; perhaps its duty will be to shoot down any man who attempts to shut it. Lord Beresford is not explicit on this point, partly, we suspect, because if he tried to explain his real thought, it would be seen that he has in mind the possible use of Chinese soldiers against his dearest foe, the Russians. But it will be a great comfort to the statesmen of China to be told that the control of their army is taken from them in the mystic name of the open door.

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Mr. Rhodes has consented to defer his Cape-to-Cairo railway scheme a little. He will take a guarantee for one more section of it, and await developments. Developments of an unpleasant kind, however, appear in the London *Truth*, which has a terrific exposure of faults and follies and scandals in the construction of the line from Mombasa to Uganda. Parliament had voted $15,000,000 for this section, but *Truth* brings figures to show that it will cost nearer $50,000,000, and can never be made to pay. It also adduces many instances of incompetence and extravagance of which the select Foreign Office committee in charge of operations has been guilty. Incidentally it is mentioned that already 5,000 coolies have lost their lives in the construction of the line. A paper which, like *Truth*, makes a specialty of exposures, must expect to have its charges rather generously "written off." But the margin left is serious enough, and would seem to warrant, if not to compel, a parliamentary investigation before another penny is voted.

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Mr. Balfour's proposal to endow a Roman Catholic university at Dublin comes at an unlucky moment. With the anti-Ritualist agitation rising higher every day, it is not probable that Parliament will even give a hearing to the project. Of course, Mr. Balfour's plan involves erecting a great Protestant university at Belfast at the same time, but though this seems a perfectly fair equivalent to him, it will not to the aroused English evangelicals. All told, it is a singular and embarrassing position which Mr. Balfour now holds as leader of the House, in presence of spreading and violent theological passions. An apostle of toleration and a devotee of sweetness and light, how can he possibly take sides in the controversy? Yet how can he hold the balance level? His letter explaining his plans for the Irish universities breathes of benevolence, and abounds in the subtle distinctions so dear to his intellect. But, under the circumstances, it gives him an air of a detached philosopher innocently entering Donnybrook Fair. The Catholics will have none of him because he does not go far enough to suit them. The Protestants will rage at him because he goes much too far to suit them. It looks as if the mild metaphysician were not cut out for such shillelah-work.

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### THE WARNING.

Primarily, we suppose, Mr. Cannon's bold and startling speech in the House on Thursday was Speaker Reed's way of saying "Check!" to the Hanna-McKinley Syndicate gamesters. They, in their desperation, have been challenging the power of the Speaker and the Republican leaders in the House to keep down appropriations. What shall it profit a Syndicate to hold the Government in trust unless it can exercise the right to lay taxes and vote appropriations? Hence the fury of Hanna and his fellow-speculators when informed that Mr. Reed was opposed to their schemes. They never heard of such impudence. But they would teach the Speaker who was master. They would pin an appropriation of $115,000,000 for their pet Nicaragua Canal bill to the river and harbor bill, and ask Mr. Reed what he was going to do about it. Well, what he did was to put up his lieutenant, Chairman Cannon, to make a statement of the financial situation of the Government; to warn the party and the House and the country of the catastrophe to which the imperialistic raids on the Treasury would swiftly carry us.

Mr. Cannon has always clung to the old-fashioned notion of the responsibility of a chairman of the committee on appropriations. He bluntly declares that his chief function is not to make appropriations, but to prevent their being made. In his way, he thus plays the part of a finance minister or Chancellor of the Exchequer in countries which have a rational system of public finance—ruthlessly killing private appropriation bills, and holding down the sums voted for the public service to the lowest possible figure. This is the main business of a government confronting a popular legislature. But, in this case, the rest of the Government have gone over to the raiders. From President down (or up), they have endorsed and pushed ship subsidies, canal extravagances, and every form of surplus-dissipating bill. Mr. Cannon stands alone. But his position, if unique, is also highly honorable and useful, and his courage in taking the country into his confidence will not lose its reward. If not immediately, then in the near future, Americans will have grateful words for a man who stood up in the midst of an imperialistic orgy of squanderers of the public money, and told the truth and called a halt.

Mr. Cannon's first flashlight on the gulf which yawns before the Treasury was his proof that the deficit at the end of the current fiscal year will be $159,000,000. This he figured on the basis of the actual monthly deficit for the portion of the year already elapsed. Secretary Gage had estimated the deficit at $112,000,000, but the difference only showed how expenditures had gone on swelling beyond all expectation. Even this huge deficit of $159,000,000 did not reckon in the $20,000,000 to be paid to Spain for kindly selling us an insurrection, nor the $25,000,000 or upwards of claims of our citizens against Spain which, under the treaty, our own Treasury assumes. Mr. Cannon next paid his respects to the boasted surplus, and showed that it would be practically exhausted by July, 1900. At the end of the present year there would be an available surplus of $108,000,000. But even Mr. Gage had admitted a deficit of $31,000,000 for the year 1899-1900, and that, of course, was on the basis of existing law. But already the appropriations for the army and navy had added millions to the estimates; and the total upshot would be that in less than two years we should have to issue more bonds or levy fresh taxes. This would be truly an awful thing for the Advance Agent of Prosperity, just on the eve of his second campaign.

"Where do we come in, then?" faintly asked the champions of the Nicaragua Canal bill and ship subsidies. "You do not come in at all," was Mr. Cannon's rough answer. "You are out in the cold and must stay there." Surely they must, unless we mean to rush to embrace bankruptcy. When the severest economy is necessary to pay ordinary expenses, with what face can we appropriate $115,000,000, as the Hepburn bill proposes to do, to dig a canal in foreign territory? Even this sum is a mere first guess at the cost of the canal, which is certain to demand $200,000,000 if built in the wasteful way laid down in the bill. And as for pure gratuities to Hanna and his fellow-subsidy-seekers, what figure in the election would a party cut which had flung $50,000,000 into their eager hands and then had to issue bonds to foot the bill? The Hanna-Payne subsidy bill was truthfully described by the minority report as "one that was prepared and brought to Congress by a voluntary committee of ship-owners and ship-builders, representing the gentlemen who will receive the bounty which the bill proposes to give from the public Treasury." It will at least require an extra session, after Mr. Cannon's speech, for that burglarious crew to get inside the vaults.

Mr. Cannon's fearless words, moreover, go beyond the particular matter of the danger in our financial situation, or the iniquity of any special scheme of public thievery, and strike, even if unintentionally, at the great peril of reckless imperialism. As John Morley said the other day, an essential article of the imperialistic creed is belief in Fortunatus's purse. The true expansionist flings public money about as if there were no end to the national resources. Mr. Cannon has performed the great public service of presenting his little imperialistic bill. He shows that, in spite of war taxes and war loans, the last dollar in the Treasury is in sight. There must be new imperial taxes and imperial loans if we are to go ahead in our present lavish way. This is a very disagreeable revelation, but it is the one that always comes to man or nation that has run a rake's progress.

### THE DISCREDITED COMMISSION.

It is safe to say that there will be no general demand for copies of the full report of President McKinley's investigating commission. The abstract given to the press on Monday will quite suffice. One needs to read only that to see that the report is nine-tenths whitewash to one-tenth apology. The plain truth is, that the Commission lost public confidence before it began its work, and that it has since passed through stage after stage of discredit, until finally it had to suffer the awful blow of having its creator disown and repudiate it, as respects the chief part of its inquiries, by appointing a competent court of inquiry to do what it had so signally failed to do. How can the President expect the public to pay any respect to his commission's report on the great beef scandal when he himself has practically shown that its conclusions on this subject are not worth the paper they were written on?

The whole course of the affair, from the appointment of the Commission to its rather pitiful finale, has been one long demonstration of how not to do it. When Mr. McKinley set about the business, there was much firm talk about his stern determination to secure a commission which would completely command public respect and trust, and which would push the inquiry to the bitter end without fear or favor. Some of the eminent men first named seemed to promise such a result. But it was an ominous thing that one after another of them declined to serve. The significant thing was, that they did it in almost every case after conferring with the President. This does not necessarily imply that they found him half-hearted in the business. It does surely indicate, however, that they found the proposed method of inquiry weak and vicious in method, and that they were unwilling to have their names associated with what was bound to be a fiasco. It was certain to be that in any hands; in the hands of the men who finally consented to serve, failure was foredoomed. More than one of them was an avowed partisan of War Department methods; others were open to the suspicion of being prejudiced by personal favors received; the rest carried little or no weight. The result was inevitable. A dawdling inquiry, without power to compel the presence of witnesses—from which, in fact, witnesses shrank as from a prejudiced tribunal—has issued in a report in which the hair has grown in the shaving, so portentously slow has it been in preparation, and which fell flat

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as a document in which the public will take but the most languid interest.

But if the Commissioners show themselves feeble and almost unable to make up their minds in nearly all matters else, in one particular they are suspiciously emphatic and make their animus clear. One great culprit they have found, and he is Gen. Miles. It would be laughable, if it were not so despicable, to note how they go out of their way to attack him. In the part of the report relating to the military camps, for example, there is a glaring instance of their partiality. Some of the sites they report to have been badly chosen. Chickamauga was bad, Camp Alger was bad, Tampa was bad, Miami was bad. Yet the only instance in which they specify an officer responsible for locating a camp in unfavorable surroundings is the case of Miami. Why was this? Because that was recommended by Gen. Miles. No mention was thought necessary of the man who selected Camp Alger or Chickamauga or Fernandina; but wherever they saw Gen. Miles's head they showed their eagerness to hit it. So they tacked on his name, leaving the others to be brilliant by absence.

It is, however, when the Commission approach the beef scandals that they show most clearly their own incapacity and *parti pris*. They begin by severely condemning Gen. Miles for not having run to the President with his first suspicion that the meat was bad. Instead of waiting, as he did, to get complete reports, he should have gone off on the first hint he had that the rations were not what they should be. As a military procedure we do not comment upon this; but that it was common sense seems clear to the layman. Then the Commission triumphantly fish out of the War Department records a recommendation by Gen. Miles in 1897 of "canned meats put up by reputable firms" as an army ration in Alaska, and seem to think, in their fuddled way, that this is a complete proof that putrid meat was a good thing for the soldiers to eat in Cuba and Porto Rico. Then they victoriously present proof that the refrigerated meat was, on the whole, good, when the main charge is that the canned roast beef, so called, was bad. But really it is not necessary to dwell upon this part of the report. The President himself has made the sufficient comment upon it by throwing the whole of it into the waste-basket, and appointing a military court to do thoroughly the work which these civilians have hopelessly bungled.

The really valuable part of the report is in danger of being overlooked in the mass of irrelevant or prejudiced matter. This is the testimony of the Commissioners, unwilling witnesses as they are, to the essentially faulty organization of the army in general and the War Department in particular. They point out how the various departments were continually at cross-purposes with each other and with their official head. The result was delay and floundering. When these Commissioners, who certainly are entitled to pose as authorities on floundering, assert this of the operations of our military authorities, under the present vicious system of organization, it may be taken to be true. Thus at whatever door we go in, we always come out with the conclusion that the army is badly organized, that it works under antiquated and conflicting laws, and that there is a crying need of adopting new methods, so as to put our army into line with the teachings of experience and the practice of the leading military countries. This part of the Commission's report is well worth the attention of the Senate in its consideration of the army bill.

## *BAGGAGE EXPLANATIONS.*

The Assistant Secretary of the Treasury repudiates with something approaching to heat the charge that the Treasury has been "doing anything at the dictation of this or that merchant"; and asserts that what it has been trying to do is its duty in "enforcing the law in the manner most promotive of good morals in its own service." Well, how is it that what is called "The Merchants' and Manufacturers' Board of Trade," officered by two tailors, one tailor-trimmings dealer, one shirtmaker, one auctioneer, one shoe-dealer, one dealer in dressmakers' supplies, and one furrier, have been boasting through these officers for two years that it was they who had got the regulations changed; that their design was to stop people from buying things in Europe which these dealers had for sale in New York? How was it that they were allowed to put on the wharf detectives, in their own pay, to watch the officers of the Government and see that they did their duty? This sort of thing has been going on openly for two years, without denial or remonstrance on behalf of the Treasury. Was the assumption surprising that the passengers were being harassed in the interest of private dealers? Has Shayne been telling falsehoods about the operations of the Treasury, or has he not? If he has, why has he been allowed to do it so long without contradiction or remonstrance?

The Assistant Secretary's explanation, that the regulations, far from being intended to bring profits to the tailors, were meant to enforce the law in the manner "most promotive of good morals in our own service," is interesting. But in all services we have ever heard of in which "good morals" are of any importance whatever, there are only two modes of promoting them. One is to employ a high class of men; the other is to diminish the temptations to do wrong, and increase the rewards to do right. This means, being interpreted, the exaction of high qualifications from persons desirous of entering the service, and the giving them, when in, fixity of tenure and high pay. This question has been so much discussed, both here and in England, and has been so thoroughly tested in every civilized country, that we feel quite warranted in saying that all doubt on the subject is ended. When a man complains now of the badness of his service, we prescribe these remedies with as much confidence as we have in prescribing a blue pill for inactivity of the liver. To us the Assistant Secretary's remedy, the tormenting of the public with whom the officers come in contact, is extremely odd. All civilized Powers have precisely the same difficulty to contend with that we have. They all collect a large portion of their revenue, if not all, by duties on imports. They all have to contend with the dishonesty, in one form or other, of the inspectors on the wharf or on the frontier. They all try to meet it by sharp punishment of the officer who is employed to prevent smuggling, and who yet allows it to be done by any class of men, whether passengers by foreign steamers or any other. America is the only one, as far as we know, which makes the passenger or traveller a public servant *pro hac vice*, and proceeds to make him assist, by a process of annoyance, in collecting duties on his own baggage, which the Government officer, through either corruption or negligence, fails to do; at the very moment, too, when the passenger will be most unwilling to undertake any such task.

This seems a startling statement; but is it not correct? The Government collects the bulk of its revenue through customs duties, and employs a large host of officials to collect them on all goods coming over the frontier. It has power to employ as many as are necessary, and professes to do so. It is the duty of these men to search the baggage of every passenger. They fail in their duty, and the experience of human nature tells us that it is for one of three reasons. Either their original character was bad, or they are not paid well enough, or the temptation to smuggle is made too strong by the amount of the duties. The Government makes no effort to improve the character of the officers, or to raise their pay, or to diminish the temptation to smuggle by lowering the duties. The only thing it can think of is to annoy the passengers to such a degree that they will hesitate either to travel or to buy clothing or other small articles abroad.

The way this remedy is applied is almost comic. When one of the great steamers arrives with five hundred or one thousand passengers on board, all are obliged to sit in rows, waiting for hours to make sworn "declarations" before a small number of officers, con-

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cerning a number of things they may not have seen for at least a fortnight, and which they must then produce, no matter how small in value. If they fail to enumerate the various articles in their baggage, no matter how trifling, and the officer finds them afterwards, it may be presumed that the passenger's declaration was a perjury, and the officer may report him to his superior as a person who has sought to defraud the revenue. His only recourse is to throw himself on the mercy of the Deputy Surveyor. To him is submitted the question, practically without appeal, first whether the "declaration" is or is not a perjury; whether the swearer meant to smuggle, and whether he has told the truth about the price of the article. The inspector who examines the baggage and the Deputy Surveyor then have the passenger in their hands. One of them may accuse him of lying and smuggling, throw all his clothing out on the wharf, detain him for hours, and insult him grossly.

The object of all this is to make the passenger submit to great humiliation in order to relieve the Treasury from the necessity of employing more inspectors, and paying them such salary as would deliver them from temptation. Nothing can be more amusing than the plea of the Assistant Secretary that the Government treats passengers leniently in taking "forgetfulness," "absorption of mind," or "business worry," as an excuse for omissions in making the declaration. The Treasury theory evidently is, that the traveller is a person who is caught in something *flagrante delicto*—that is, when he ought to be collecting revenue for the Government, he allows his thoughts to wander off to his children or his own wretched affairs. It evidently considers him very kindly treated when he is not worked harder, and does not have his property confiscated oftener for absent-mindedness.

The truth is, the whole affair has been greatly muddled. In the first place, the value, or rather the importance, of the passenger travel, from the revenue point of view, has been grossly exaggerated. Dingley knew so little about it that he allowed himself to be persuaded by the New York tailors and dressmakers that it could be made worth ten million dollars a year to the Government. It is not worth, as has been shown by experiment, $200,000. It is not worth the civilized man's while to annoy and pursue his fellow-citizen that the state may get this sum. It is, to use the popular phrase, "a mean business." It is worth twenty times that sum to the United States to have its citizens see the world, mark, learn, and inwardly digest. We are the only people who try to frighten travellers away. The sight of a transatlantic steamer's saloon full of passengers, waiting to swear their "declarations," makes foreigners wonder and Americans blush. The source of the trouble is, that Americans have not yet learned to distinguish between trade and travel as means of collecting revenue. Trade is profitable; travel is worth nothing. To have citizens move about and see is the main use of travel. To be persuaded by tailors to stay at home and buy their goods is a sorrowful experience which we certainly ought to avoid, now that we have begun to be conquerors. A nation that has killed four thousand heathen in one fight ought not to coop people up and make them swear about their sleeve-buttons and undershirts. What does the great Griggs say to this? Does he call this glory?

## *THE RIGHT OF MARINE CAPTURE.*

Commander Stockton, President of the Naval War College at Newport, has an article in the February *North American Review*, in which he opposes the proposed surrender of the right to capture the merchant vessels of an enemy at sea. The article is written "at the suggestion of Capt. Mahan," and is intended to be a clear presentation of the subject "from the point of view of a belligerent," and of one "to whom the practice and principles of international law are not unknown." The article is a summary of all that can be said in favor of the right of marine capture.

Commander Stockton is, we think, quite right in assuming that the Declaration of Paris may now be regarded as an integral part of international law. The rules that the neutral flag protects the enemy's cargo, and that neutral goods are not subject to capture under an enemy's flag, have been adopted by the great majority of civilized states, and by us they have, in practice, been accepted as binding; but it should not be forgotten that if we are not yet among the signatories, it is because we alone among all governments objected that the Declaration did not go far enough, because it did not exempt all private property from capture.

Commander Stockton says at the outset that he is opposed to prize-money laws, and is in favor of their repeal, obviously because he perceives that until the prize-money laws are repealed, there will always be a sinister pecuniary interest affecting the settlement of the controversy. But, for ourselves, we believe that the prize-money laws are the life and soul of the system, and that without them, as we shall endeavor to show, the capture of merchant vessels would speedily lose its interest for everybody. Prize-money may be little or nothing to Commander Stockton, but his disclaimer does not affect the fact that the navy as a whole has a most powerful pecuniary interest in the maintenance of the practice. Indeed, as enemies of the practice, we are rather grateful to him for so separating the military argument in favor of marine capture from the baser motives on which the system is supported, that any one can readily see just how strong the former is.

To come at once to his argument: his first point he evidently thinks a novel one. Hitherto the advocates of marine capture have discussed it as a simple extension to the sea of the exemption of private property from seizure on land. Commander Stockton insists, on the other hand, that private property on land is not free from seizure. He says that the extent of the exemption on land is "overestimated." This statement he supports by showing that, in the Franco-German war, the Germans took, by means of "systematic, but unrecompensed, requisitions and contributions," some six hundred millions of francs. He also insists upon the great damage to property done by the march and encampment of armies in the field. Besides this, there may be deliberately ordered devastation on land, as in Sherman's march to the sea. What has been given up on land is pillage, or the appropriation to the individual soldier, officer, and commander of the goods and chattels, and money and ornaments and statues and bills receivable of the citizens or subjects of the enemy.

This is true, but it is not new. It may all be found in such a well-known handbook as Lawrence's 'Principles of International Law.' What the advocates of exemption from capture at sea say is, not that there is no confiscation or devastation on land, but that the requisitions and damage are allowed only for purely military reasons—the subsistence of troops, the operations of war, or compensation for military losses—and not for the unmilitary and sordid purpose of enriching the soldier at the expense of a defenceless victim. Merchant-ships are captured altogether as plunder, and the proceeds are divided among the captors exactly as if they were pirates or buccaneers; the case does not differ from plunder on land, except that prize money is obtained through the adjudication of a court, and therefore is more decorous than the corresponding land operations.

The real question is, supposing prize money abolished—how much value would the right to capture merchant vessels still have, as a pure belligerent right? How far does it contribute to making the enemy sue for peace? Commander Stockton argues that it is a very valuable right for several reasons: (1) because many vessels can be made over into war-ships; (2) because incoming cargoes, if not seized, would yield to the belligerent customs duties; (3) because capture is cheaper than an effective blockade; (4) because by capturing merchants' ships you may cut off the enemy's food supply or destroy its commerce.

The reply of the advocate of the exemption to all this is, not that it is not theoretically true, but that in the history

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of modern warfare there is no proof that the right has been of any substantial value to a belligerent in shortening the war or bringing the enemy to terms. In all the wars that we know anything about, the pecuniary losses through capture have been compensated by insurance; and the crippling of the enemy by cutting off its food supply, though much talked of, has never taken place. In our civil war our merchant marine was obliterated, yet commerce went on just as usual, and when an impartial court estimated our damages, they were unable to put the loss higher than $15,500,000, in a war which cost thousands of millions. Commander Stockton tries to meet this by saying that if they had had any prize courts, the Confederates would have prevented the English from carrying our cargoes, and confiscated American vessels transferred to the English flag, as having only a colorable register. But he supports this strange contention by no authority or proof whatever. The fact is, that, under the practice which has become established since the Declaration of Paris, endangered commerce, at the outbreak of a war, goes for refuge to neutrals, and, with their aid and that of the insurance companies, the losses through marine capture are so distributed as to play no part in bringing the enemy to terms. The idea of throttling the food supply of your enemy, and making prizes of all his ships, and so bringing him to terms, is a magnificent belligerent dream, but it is not such war as we know anything about. It is a legacy of Napoleon to our reactionary publicists; but even he found it impracticable, and it is certainly much further from realization now than it was in his day.

There are a great many of the old rights of war for which a far clearer case can be made out than for the retention of the right to capture private property at sea. For instance, there was the right to murder or enslave enemies when taken prisoners, universal throughout the ancient world, or to hold them to ransom, so much valued in the Middle Ages. Is it not a distinct loss that we must feed and protect and house prisoners, and get nothing out of them in return? Would not a poor country, going to war with a rich one, have a great military advantage if it could seize upon multi-millionaires and other contributors to the sinews of war, and insist upon their ransom under pain of death? Plunder on land was most effective during the Thirty Years' War in Germany, and caused far more damage than has been caused by the right to capture merchant vessels in any modern war; shall we restore it? The moment you abandon the modern view that the only legitimate object of war is the exhaustion of the armed forces of the enemy, every right of war becomes valuable, even those which have fallen into desuetude and disgrace. Almost every one of Commander Stockton's arguments in favor of marine capture can be matched by one in favor of plunder on land.

## PARNELL.—II.*

DUBLIN, January 21, 1899.

Capt. O'Shea, a Parliamentary colleague, had in 1880 introduced Mr. Parnell to his wife. "A friendship, which soon ripened into love, sprang up between them, and from 1881 they had lived together as husband and wife." Capt. O'Shea strangely does not appear to have realized the situation until 1889, when he filed divorce proceedings. I must here part company with Mr. O'Brien. The remainder of his narrative, covering the last two years of Mr. Parnell's life, is largely an apology for him and condemnation of those who repudiated his leadership. The author contends that the connection was generally known, that in any case Parnell's followers condoned it after the trial, and that they abandoned their leader at the call of Mr. Gladstone. He implies that home rule would have been saved had they stood by him; that Mr. Parnell's death, the dissensions that have paralyzed Ireland, and the practical disappearance of the home-rule cause from consideration are due, not to the action of Mr. Parnell, but to that of his former followers. Upon all these points I differ with Mr. O'Brien, and must appeal to authorities slurred or ignored by him.

The connection was not generally realized. To a considerable degree, from the period of his imprisonment Mr. Parnell appeared an altered man. His old earnestness was abated, his openness and a certain simplicity of character appeared warped. He shrank generally from publicity, and upon some crucial occasions he was not to be found. The real cause was not generally suspected. When rumors of the divorce proceedings (a year before the trial came on) appeared in the press, Mr. Davitt went over from Dublin expressly to see Mr. Parnell. The interview was afterwards reported in the New York papers, and is given at page 14 of Mr. Stead's 'Story of the Parnell Crisis':

"Mr. Parnell then spoke to me as follows: 'Davitt, I want you to go back to Ireland to tell our friends that I am going to get out of this without the slightest stain on my name or reputation,' and he repeated those words again. I fully believed, and I think he intended me to believe, by those words, that he was entirely innocent of the charge made against him. I immediately went and told John Morley so. I crossed over to Ireland and told Archbishop Walsh. Mr. Morley was delighted and so was Archbishop Walsh—intensely relieved, Archbishop Walsh was. I wrote out to friends in Australia and in America, and I repeated those very words—that he was entirely innocent of the charge made against him."

Week after week, his organ, *United Ireland*, reported votes of confidence passed in the belief that he would successfully defend the action. Our feelings were voiced by a speaker at the Cork Board of Guardians:

"Any one who knew the character of Mr. Parnell knew that a man in his position, leader of the Irish race, not alone in the United Kingdom, but all over the world, would never, by committing such an offence, give himself and the cause of his country away to his enemies."

And so it was all over Ireland. We confidently assured the high-minded men and women who in England and elsewhere espoused our cause, that he would come out unscathed from the divorce proceedings, as he had from the Pigott forgeries. The trial came on, and was undefended by Mr. Parnell. The jury gave a verdict against him without leaving the box.

"I repeat [says Mr. O'Brien] that I do not think it is my duty to enter into the details of this most unfortunate suit. Mrs. Charles Stewart Parnell [Mr. Parnell married Mrs. O'Shea after the divorce] and her children [by Capt. O'Shea] are still alive. I must consider her and them. I shall not dwell on a subject full of sorrow and pain to both."

That is precisely the difficulty which Mr. O'Brien should have realized when he undertook the responsibility of writing Mr. Parnell's life. No one desires to "dwell on a subject full of" such "sorrow and pain." Mr. O'Brien's book will find a place upon the shelves of the principal libraries throughout the world. No one will undertake the hateful task of publishing the divorce proceedings in permanent form. Not many will care or find it easy to consult the papers of November 17 and 18, 1890. Not many are likely to have preserved the condensed accounts given in the 'Story of the Parnell Crisis,' an extra of the *Pall Mall Gazette*. The revelations were of the most scandalous character. Falsehood and duplicity had marked Mr. Parnell's conduct. He had, passing under feigned names, taken different houses to facilitate the intrigue. He had disguised himself, he had hidden away. Much of the evidence could never be gainsaid; some, which it was said might have been shaken on cross-examination, has never been weakened by any open explanation. Addressing a meeting afterwards in Dublin, Mr. Parnell said:

"I could not come amongst you and look you in the face as I do to-night, did I not know that there is another side to this question, as to every other question, and that you will wait and hear the other side before you decide."

Neither during his lifetime nor since his death, so far as I am aware, has any other side to the shocking evidence been presented, and it was then realized that in forcing Capt. O'Shea upon Galway in 1886, he had palmed off on Ireland the husband of her who for years had been his mistress.

Some excuse can be offered for those who upon the moment, at the National League, and at the Leinster Hall, boasted unshaken confidence in their leader. The Leinster Hall meeting had been called long before for general purposes. Some were conciliated by the resolution concerning Mr. Parnell approving only his *political* conduct. Most felt bewildered. Many were carried away by what Mr. McCarthy said:

"I am not going to ask what were the motives—I am perfectly certain myself that they were generous and they were chivalrous—which led to the result that no defence was put in in that case. I am not going to ask you here—I shall not ask you whether, if my esteemed personal friend, Mr. Frank Lockwood, who sat in that court, had been allowed to ask certain questions in that case, whether he might not have knocked all to pieces certain evidence given there, and whether he could not have made the case to assume a position very different in appearance. . . . You would have had a very different story to-night."

It is impossible to explain the attitude of those who saw nothing in Mr. Parnell's conduct to weaken their allegiance—of admirers who became adorers, of those who previously

*"The Life of Charles Stewart Parnell, 1846-1891." By R. Barry O'Brien, Barrister-at-Law. Harpers. Two volumes in one. Pp. 378, 394.

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criticised or held aloof and now became his most ardent followers. Nothing can explain it but the glamour, force, and attraction of his personality. "I have often thought Parnell was like Napoleon," said Mr. Chamberlain to Mr. O'Brien.

Prepared to sacrifice to the Irish cause everything but honor, shocked most of them beyond expression at the proceedings in the divorce court, puzzled by such speeches as Mr. McCarthy's and the apologies of some of the most high-minded men and women in Ireland, the Irish members attended Parliament, which met a week after the trial. Some sought counsel of English friends, and were amazed there also to find opinions favorable to Mr. Parnell. We were informed on reliable authority that a communication from Mr. Gladstone would be read at our assemblage, before the election of chairman. It was understood that, in consideration of Mr. Parnell's services to Ireland and his feelings, he was to be reëlected, whereupon he would of his own accord resign, and, for a time at least, retire from public life. No communication was read, he was reëlected, he made not one word of apology. We supposed that somehow it was generally thought best to condone his conduct—that the general political outlook would not be materially affected. However, almost immediately afterwards it became known that Mr. Gladstone had written a letter to Mr. Morley asking him privately to convey to Mr. Parnell his opinion that his leadership of the Liberal party would be difficult if Mr. Parnell's leadership of the Irish party were continued. It was evident that Mr. Parnell had kept out of the way. A member afterwards acknowledged that Mr. Parnell's private secretary remarked to him: "Morley is searching everywhere through the House for Parnell, with a letter from Gladstone, but I will take devilish good care he will not find the chief, because I will keep him out of the way."

Mr. McCarthy appears to have been responsible for not having at the meeting communicated to his colleagues the contents of this letter, when aware that it would not otherwise be brought forward. In self-defence, Mr. Gladstone gave the letter to the public the same evening. The principal passage ran:

"While clinging to the hope of a communication from Mr. Parnell to whomsoever addressed, I thought it necessary . . . to acquaint Mr. McCarthy with the conclusion at which, after using all the means of observation and reflection in my power, I had myself arrived. It was, that, notwithstanding the splendid services rendered by Mr. Parnell to his country, his continuance at the present moment in the leadership would be productive of consequences disastrous in the highest degree to the cause of Ireland; . . . would not only place many hearty and effective friends of the Irish cause in a position of great embarrassment, but would render my retention of the leadership of the Liberal party, based as it has been mainly upon the prosecution of the Irish cause, almost a nullity. This explanation of my own view I begged Mr. McCarthy to regard as confidential, and not intended for his colleagues generally if he found that Mr. Parnell contemplated spontaneous action. But I also begged that he would make known to the Irish party at their meeting tomorrow afternoon that such was my conclusion, if he should find that Mr. Parnell had not in contemplation any step of the nature indicated."

A majority of the Irish members felt they had been tricked, and demanded that the question should be reopened. Mr. Gladstone's letter was in no sense felt by them as a command; it conveyed necessary information as to what was likely to be the attitude of English Liberals, the main wing of the home-rule army. Mr. Parnell, with extraordinary adroitness, set about confusing the issue. He issued a manifesto calling in question the good faith of Mr. Gladstone, and declaring that the "independence of a section of the Irish Parliamentary party" was "apparently sapped and destroyed by the wire-pullers of the Liberal party." He played upon every prejudice and passion of the Irish nature. The English were "wolves now howling for my destruction," as later Mr. Gladstone was "an unrivalled sophist," "a garrulous old man." On his own showing, he deliberately violated the seal of secret, private, and confidential intercourse at Hawarden. Future political coöperation of responsible ministers would be impossible. It was asked of the majority: "Would any people, on the eve of victory, abandon, because of an act of immorality, the general who had organized victory?" The answer was clear: "Certainly, if, in the exposure, characteristics fatal to confidence in him were shown; and if his conduct and bearing had alienated a leader and a people without whose aid victory was impossible."

Ireland became fatally divided against herself; the majority believing that to obtain home rule under or through Mr. Parnell would be impossible—the other that it was possible only through him. Few can look back with any equanimity upon the contest that ensued, and that was exacerbated by Mr. Parnell's decease. He wore himself out in frantic effort to reassert himself. It was scarcely to be expected that Ireland would carry on an internal quarrel upon a higher plane than that she had so often found necessary to assume in her contest with Great Britain. Protestants realized one curious fact, that, according to Catholic canonical law, Mr. Parnell appeared to aggravate the moral offence by marrying Mrs. O'Shea, a divorced woman.

I must now draw to a conclusion this perhaps too lengthy notice of Mr. O'Brien's book. He keeps much out of view the extent to which Mr. Parnell's success depended on the assistance of the men who gathered round him. Upon one side of his life we should like to have had more information—the quarrying and mining operations he carried on in the County of Wicklow. Often, while pondering these volumes, have I asked myself, Can it be that the Ireland of to-day is the same Ireland as that of Mr. Parnell's time, fused in agitation, set in grim determination for the attainment of home rule? A few lines from the Irish correspondent of the *Times* might be taken as fairly representing the present situation:

"The present circumstances of Ireland may be briefly summed up in the statement that at no period of her history did she appear more tranquil, more free from serious crime, more prosperous and contented. . . . There is no longer the agitation which convulsed the country in days gone by. . . . The relations between landlord and tenant continue to be generally friendly, and both parties are, with some remarkable exceptions, adapting themselves with prudence and good feeling to the change consequent upon the application of a new law."

We must, however, remember that this is quoted by Mr. O'Brien as written in 1875, on the eve of the most searching agitation Ireland has seen in this century. It is never safe to judge from appearances. Nevertheless, many of the elements and conditions of violent agitation that formerly existed appear now wanting, apart from the extent to which Mr. Parnell gathered to himself, only to carry down with him, the political spring and hope of the country. The revulsion from the delusive hopes of the French Revolution is said, with many Liberals in the early part of the century, to have induced a philosophy of despair. The breakdown of the home-rule movement, small in importance as it was in comparison with the French Revolution, has not been without a similar influence.

No chapter in Mr. O'Brien's book is more interesting than the last—Mr. Gladstone's "appreciation" of Mr. Parnell—a remarkable proof of the generosity and self-forgetfulness of that noble spirit. I shall conclude in Mr. Gladstone's words: "Poor fellow, poor fellow! . . . Dear, dear, what a tragedy! I cannot tell you how much I think about him, and what an interest I take in everything concerning him. A marvellous man, a terrible fall."

D. B.

## EXCAVATIONS IN THE FORUM.

ROME, January 15, 1899.

Since I wrote you last December, the excavations in the Forum have been steadily continued. The exploration of the foundations of the Temple of Vesta is completed. After clearing away the encumbering earth, brick walls were found. These, built in the centre of the mound, were four in number. The one on the western side had been destroyed in some past age. The others seem, from the excellent character of the work, to be of the time of Hadrian; but as no stamped bricks were found, it is not possible to be absolutely sure of the date. Near the bottom of the chamber formed by the walls a brick with the words *Rec Dn Theodorico Bono Rome* came to light. This, however, did not belong to the walls, but is evidence that, as was the case in respect to many other buildings in Rome, Theodoric interested himself in the preservation of the Temple of Vesta. What purpose was served by the walls cannot be told. Were they built by Hadrian to support the superstructure, or did they form a chamber for the ashes of the sacred fire which were taken off once a year and thrown away by the Porta Stercoraria? Of small objects few were found. A splendid boar's tusk and one or two Roman bronze coins of late date were turned up. Much more numerous were the fragments of vases ranging in date from our own times to the end of the fifth century before Christ. These shards were, as a whole, of but little value, but among them was one small piece that is of sufficient interest to make up for the dulness of all the rest. It is a bit of a Greek red-figured vase of the end of the "strong" style, and shows the figures of two warriors in combat. It was found deep down among the foundations. Its interest is in the suggestion it affords that such were the vases used by the Vestals for their own needs and those of the goddess. How else could such a fragment have got so deep down below the temple?

Such has proved to be what Lanciani (to mention only one, but he the latest, among many writers on the subject) described as "*a shapeless mass of concrete*"!

What will first strike the attention of whoever now, returning to Rome, goes to the Forum, is the Honorary Column. Once more it stands erect and fulfils its purpose; for though we do not know to whom it was originally set up, it serves henceforth as an honorable monument to Minister Baccelli and

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to his "braccia destra," Signor Boni, without whom its disdained fragments would still be cluttering the ground. There is no question that the column stood originally not directly on the existing brick base, but, like the Column of Phocas, on a marble pedestal placed between the base and the shaft. This pedestal has not been found. Consequently, some were in favor of doing nothing about the column, while others thought it had best be placed directly on the brick base. Fortunately neither of these courses was followed, but a pedestal of brick was made of the same proportions as the pedestal of the column of Phocas, and on this the column stands. This is, clearly, the proper solution of the question. To erect the column on the base without any pedestal would have been to make an architectural abortion which no one with any understanding of architecture could advise. As in the case of the brick support of the *ædicula* of the Atrium Vestæ, this brick pedestal is not a restoration or in any way deceptive. It merely serves to set the column in its proper relation to the base and to the neighboring buildings.

A work that does not attract much visual attention, but which adds greatly to the attractiveness of the Forum, is the closure of the opening made by Rosa years ago into the Cloaca Maxima at the eastern end of the Basilica Julia. The constant stench that arose from the sewer made the neighborhood disgustful, and the only reason for the original making of the hole, or for now leaving it, was that inquisitive tourists might look at this ancient drain. There are so many opportunities for the satisfaction of the "yellow" curiosity that enjoys such sights, that this hole seemed needless, and it required only a few moments' consideration on the spot to convince Minister Baccelli that it had best be closed.

Another small but much required undertaking was the insertion of some iron bars in the base of the Temple of Saturn to clamp together the blocks which showed ominous signs of giving way and letting the superstructure crash down. Signor Boni has seen to this, and the Temple is safe for a long time to come.

So far I have described matters of importance, but in no way surprising or exciting. Two discoveries, however, have been made the interest attaching to which could scarcely be surpassed in connection with the history of Rome. One of these is the base of the column set up where Cæsar's body was burned, and one the "black stone" which was supposed to mark the burial-place of Romulus. For what more could one ask? After the exploration of the Temple of Vesta was completed, Signor Boni turned his attention to the Temple of Cæsar. As all who have studied the topography of the Forum will remember, Suetonius tells of a column of Numidian marble (what we call *giallo antico*) dedicated *parenti patriæ* on the spot where Cæsar was burned. An altar also was placed there, but this was destroyed because the worship of Cæsar was illegal. Afterwards, Augustus built, as he tells us in his autobiographic inscription, the Temple of Julius. Later authors say that the temple stood on the site of the funeral pyre, and it is scarcely conceivable that Augustus should have destroyed the column. Those who know the Forum will recall that in the front wall of the podium of the Temple of Julius there is a semicircular recess, in front of which stands a wall of tufa. This tufa wall does not close the recess to all access, but merely makes it necessary to enter from the sides. The wall is of late origin—probably, to judge from the construction, of the third or fourth century of our era. If there was one spot where more than anywhere else one would have sought for traces of the marble column, it was in the space between this late wall and the inexplicable hemicycle. It is well-nigh incredible, but it is the fact, that when some time ago this spot was excavated, only a few bushels of earth were taken away at one end of the wall, and the space between it and the hemicycle left absolutely unexplored! Signor Boni has now cleared away the earth, and there, on a pavement of well-cut travertine blocks, are the remains of a base such as one would expect the column to have had. This is the pavement which Cæsar trod. Here is the very spot where once his body rested. Here Antony aroused the deeper emotions of the plebs, and here from the phœnix ashes of a dead Republic rose the young Empire.

Only the core of the base is left, and the marble that originally covered it has disapeared—stolen, no doubt, in the sixteenth century by one or other of the architects who used the Forum as a quarry. This core is noteworthy, for it is made of fragments of *giallo antico* and gray Carrara (*lunense*) mixed with *pozzolana*—these chips being, most probably, those made by the workers on the column; for *giallo antico* was not a common marble, and *lunense* was rare in those days. Pliny says that M. Lepidus, a consul in 676 A. U. C., was the first to introduce the *giallo*, while Mamurra, one of Cæsar's officers, first used *lunense* in large pieces.

To many persons the so-called Tomb of Romulus will be of quite as great interest as the site of Cæsar's funeral pyre. The ancient authors give us but scanty information about the tomb. What they say, though slight, is perfectly clear. Festus, under the words *niger lapis*, writes that there was a "black stone in the Comitium which showed where there was a grave"; some thought this had been intended for Romulus; he, of course, was never buried, and, after his disappearance, the grave was used for Faustulus and Quinctilius. These statements are borne out by the scholiasts on a verse of one of the Epodes of Horace (xvi. 13), who say that Varro wrote that the Tomb of Romulus was before the Rostra, where, also, two lions stood. One of the scholiasts quotes Varro as saying not *before* but *behind* the Rostra. For various topographical reasons, this must be a mistake. A few days ago this "black stone" was found. Signor Boni had for some days been exploring the late branch of the Sacred Way that ran from the Arch of Severus to the Temple of Faustina. In the neighborhood of the arch there was an opportunity to enlarge the extent of the explorations, and very soon a well-laid travertine pavement of the Republican epoch was found. It was in close proximity to the spot on which the buildings of the Comitium stood, and this pavement is part of that of the Comitium. Hardly had it been discovered when the workmen came upon a travertine curb. Further digging showed that this curb protected a *black stone*. This has now been entirely uncovered, and turns out to be a small pavement, about twelve feet square, of black marble blocks (19-25 cm. thick), protected on all four sides by the travertine curb, the latter, however, not entirely preserved. This is sufficiently strange, but what proves the sanctity of the site is, that when (probably in the fifth century A. D.) the road was built that now runs from the Arch of Severus over the spot, large marble slabs were raised like a solid fence all about the black stones to protect them. The blocks of the pavement, which are not absolutely regular in form, are of the black marble streaked with white that comes from Tænarum—what the modern *scapellini* call *marmo nero di Grecia*. For the present they have been partially covered up, as the attacks of relic-hunters began instantly after the announcement of the discovery, and the authorities do not desire fresh confirmation of Horace's words:

> "quaeque carent ventis et solibus ossa Quirini,
> nefas videre! dissipabit insolens."

Not only is this *niger lapis* of great interest in itself, but we now know more accurately than ever before the approximate position of many of the most sacred monuments of Rome, for close to the Tomb of Romulus was the statue of the wolf suckling the two brothers, and the Nævian fig-tree planted by Tarquinius Priscus over the spot where he had buried the stone which Nævius cut in two with a razor. How splendidly dead history is awakening into life!

Since the discovery of the metope of the Basilica Æmilia, several other objects of a similar nature have been found. One, most interesting because the first of its kind known, is a piece of one of the windows of the second story of the Basilica Julia. This had been discarded by the previous excavators as of no interest. Considering that they thought so little of the metope of the Basilica Æmilia as to build it into the retaining wall of a road, it is not surprising that they did not realize the value of a piece of window frame. There are, in truth, no terms of contempt too strong to characterize the work that has been done before this year in the Forum and that which is still being done in other parts of Italy. Were it worth while, proofs of such mismanagement, carelessness, and self-seeking could be given, that those hearing them might think they were listening to tales of Turkey.

The discovery of such pieces as the metope suggests two things that it is greatly to be hoped Minister Baccelli will successfully accomplish. One of these has been already undertaken: it is the taking over from the Church of the Temple of Romulus, which, freed from late additions and put in its original shape, so far as may be, will then serve as a museum for all objects found in the Forum, and others, such as photographs or engravings or casts, that are connected with it. Here ought to be put the statues of the Vestals found in the Atrium Vestæ and now in the Museo delle Terme. Where they now stand they are lifeless objects—dead archæological facts, material statistics. In the Forum near where they were originally placed, they would acquire some faint impulse of life, and render the Forum and Roman history more truly intelligible than it now is even to those few who are blessed with the power of imagination.

The other suggestion given by the present work is that the Minister arrange for the excavation of the northern side of the Forum, which is entirely disused except for a loop in the track of the electric tram—a loop which, with no difficulty whatever, could be run along the road beside S. Adriano. This undertaking would be worthy of him. To do

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what has so far been done required no intelligence; the results have all been got by merely removing earth that plainly was out of place. It will take some thought and trouble to carry out the further excavation here suggested, but it will have to be done some day. Minister Baccelli might as well pluck the laurel as leave it. Then, too, the ground where the Capitoline Plan was found ought to be excavated. It never has been. A mere ditch, a few feet broad, was dug at the foot of the wall on which the Plan was originally fastened. If the earth, not only a few feet, but a few yards away from the wall were searched, other pieces of the Plan would, in all probability, be found. That game is assuredly worth the candle.

There are many other varied interests of which to write—the question of the Ducal Palace at Venice, which has aroused much comment; the Ponte Vecchio at Florence, which seems to be saved this time; the School at Mondragone, which has nothing to do with antiquities, but is a good illustration of certain governmental conditions—but I fear I have trespassed too much already on your valuable space. All must sincerely hope that the new year will carry out the promises uttered with the last breath of 1898. R. N.

# Correspondence.

## "TAKE UP THE WHITE MAN'S BURDEN."

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I wonder if anybody fully appreciates how this recent lyric is taking hold of people, and what an appeal it is making in favor of imperialism and militarism to many whom no other appeal would reach. The "burden" is the work of civilizing and policing the world, beginning, of course, with the Philippines. The "white man" is the Anglo-Saxon. It is to America that the appeal is made to "take up" this "burden." The "judgment of your peers," which is to drown every other voice, is the judgment of England. And certainly if the lines mean more than this, they mean this at least.

But let us not stop at the first line. Let us look the "burden" fairly in the face. There it all is, set down in black and white by an expert who weighs his words. I forbear quotation, as the lines are familiar, but can the most hardy read them without a shudder!

And who imposed this burden? That is a very long and a very old story. The burden of civilization, whence came it? But the main question is, Who are to share it? Who laid it upon the shoulders of the "white man"? There is a Good Book that says something about burden-bearing, but it makes no such limitation as this. Indeed, it was once a problem how to get the "white man" to assume an iota of this burden. Do not reason and revelation agree in this, that all races—white, black, and red—need the discipline of this sort of burden-bearing? Have we not read into these lines a race pride and a race narrowness which demand a chastisement somewhat like that which Mrs. Browning used to administer to her insular friends? "You evidently think that God made only the English. The English are a peculiar people. Their worst is better than the best of the exterior nations. Over the rest of the world He has cast out His shoe." E. A. Strong.

Ypsilanti, Mich., February 6, 1899.

## DOMESTIC PEACE, FOREIGN WAR.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In the *Nation* for January 26, in an article on "The English Political Muddle," occur these words: "Both the Republicans and Conservatives are now getting out of their domestic difficulties in the same way, . . . by undertaking to thrash somebody." I am reminded of a remark that Plutarch makes in his Life of Coriolanus: "The consuls contrived it so that employment abroad [under arms] might still the intestine tumults." This was nearly twenty-four centuries ago, when the Roman republic was in its teens. For us the device has the respectability of age; to the Romans it might have appeared as a youthful indiscretion. A. B. H.

Wentzville, Md., February 6, 1899.

# Notes.

'Democracy and Empire,' by Prof. Franklin H. Giddings, an imperialistic apologia, and 'The Trail of the Gold-Seekers,' by Hamlin Garland, an account of the author's journey to the Stickeen River and Atlin Lake country, will be published by Macmillan; the one shortly, the other in June. In October, 'Boy Life on the Prairie,' also by Mr. Garland.

Longmans, Green & Co. have in press or in preparation 'Selections from the Sources: A Supplement to Text-books of English History, B. C. 55-A. D. 1832,' arranged and edited by Prof. Charles W. Colby of McGill University; 'The Life of William Morris,' by J. W. Mackail; 'The Early Married Life of Maria Josepha, Lady Stanley, from 1796,' edited by J. H. Adeane; the fourth and concluding volume (1660-1696) of 'The Memoirs of the Verney Family,' by Margaret M. Verney; 'A Handbook to French Art,' by Miss Rose G. Kingsley; 'Wood and Garden: Notes and Thoughts, Practical and Critical, of a Working Amateur,' by Gertrude Jekyll; 'A Text-book of Theoretical Naval Architecture,' by Edward Lewis Attwood, Assistant Constructor, R. N.; and 'Indian Philosophy,' by Max Müller.

M. F. Mansfield and A. Wessels, No. 22 East Sixteenth Street, New York, are making a facsimile reprint, for subscribers, of the first (Lahore) "Public Document" edition of Kipling's 'Departmental Ditties,' now become very rare. They announce also the same author's poem, "The Betrothed," with illustrations in tint by Blanche McManus.

J. M. Bowles, Boston, will soon publish 'Composition,' by Arthur W. Dow, curator of the Japanese Paintings and Prints at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

'Washington the Soldier,' by Gen. H. B. Carrington (Boston: Lamson, Wolffe & Co.), is, in the main, an abridgment of the valuable work by the same author, 'Battles of the Revolution.' The maps of battle-fields are the same, and for authenticity and completeness are among the very best that are accessible. They were carefully compiled and drawn by the author himself. In the briefer form, recast and made more distinctly biographical, the book will be welcome to a large class of readers to whom the larger work is not easily within reach.

The second edition of Haigh's 'Attic Theatre,' just issued by the Clarendon Press (New York: Henry Frowde), practically supersedes the edition of 1889 in respect to many points which have been illuminated by the discoveries and investigations of the last ten years. Several chapters have been entirely rewritten, others have been thoroughly revised, new illustrations have been added, and the latest conclusions as to many mooted questions have been incorporated in the work. Moreover, all the latest literature, German, French, English, and American, on the stage question and on the architecture of theatres recently explored is here represented with great completeness. While adopting Dörpfeld's plan of the Dionysiac Theatre at Athens and some of his professional opinions as to the date of its structures, Mr. Haigh rejects, after an elaborate discussion, the German antiquarian's special views on the stage question. The whole treatise is brought up to date in the most satisfactory manner, and the Clarendon Press deserves the thanks of scholars for this second edition, which sums up so promptly the conclusions of many scattered dissertations and the results of explorations accessible only in expensive publications.

The Germans possess a model *multum in parvo* in the 'Jahrbuch' of Kürschner, of which the issue for 1899 is as rich in its contents as any of its predecessors. The amount of general information, from reliable sources, found between the covers of this pocket encyclopædia is truly remarkable. While on American subjects it is quite naturally not complete, on non-American, and especially European, subjects it is almost all-embracing for a volume of its scope and purpose. The cost is only one and a half marks.

Of Andree's 'Allgemeiner Hand-Atlas' a new fourth and thoroughly revised edition has appeared, edited by A. Scobel. This standard work now contains 263 fine maps, nearly equally divided between main and side maps. The additions to the new issue deal largely with America, thus repairing one of the shortcomings of the first three editions. Not only political, but also physical and commercial geography is furnished here, representing the latest detailed researches all over the globe. About 200,000 geographical names constitute the index. A popular edition of Andree has been brought out by the publishers, Velhagen & Klasing, in Leipzig, for the remarkably low price of 28 marks (or, in leather binding, 32 marks), while an *édition de luxe* on Japan paper in fine binding will cost 120 marks, and be limited to 100 numbered copies. The high coloring of the mountainous districts causes some difficulty at times in reading the names.

A list of 220 early books relating to America (more than half antedating 1550), the gift in December last of Mr. Alexander Maitland, is recorded in the January Bulletin of the New York Public Library. There, too, is to be found a summary review of the valuable library of Samuel J. Tilden, now incorporated with the amalgamated collections resulting from his foundation. We can mention only 123 volumes of Cobbett's 'Parliamentary History' and Hansard's 'Parliamentary Debates'; 115 volumes of the New York *Herald* (1846-1886), with files of the *World* (1860-1886), *Times* (1865-1886), *Tribune* (1867-1886), and *Sun* (1870-1886); an extraordinary collection of Gillray's caricatures (1777-1811), mounted and bound in eight folio volumes, with specimens of Hogarth and Cruikshank; and numerous extra-illustrated works—Waverley, Moore's Byron,

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Bray's Stothard, Thornbury's Turner, Parton's Franklin, Ticknor's Prescott, Boswell's Johnson, Macaulay's Life and Works, etc.; Duyckinck's 'Cyclopædia of American Literature,' and Cromwelliana.

The Library of the University of Pennsylvania has been acquiring, through P. S. King & Co., London, a set of British Parliamentary Papers—the most important before 1880, a complete collection since that date. A catalogue of the earlier papers has been printed by Messrs. King, with analytical annotations revealing curious and important documents concealed under general and apparently unrelated titles.

The second annual report of the Historical MSS. Commission of the American Historical Association, dated December 30, 1897, and issued last year from the Government Printing Office, is notable for its tabulation of certain Colonial Assemblies and their journals as a guide to students; for the conclusion of the letters of Phineas Bond, British Consul at Philadelphia, to the Foreign Office, 1790-1794; and the Mangourit correspondence respecting Genet's projected attack upon the Floridas, 1793-'94. The next report will be eagerly awaited, as it will contain the correspondence of John C. Calhoun, as already announced.

Commissioner Swan's eleventh report on the Public Records of Massachusetts is remarkable for an appendix giving the locations of towns in counties, according as these have undergone change of boundaries. Such changes are described in detail before the alphabetical list is given. As the Massachusetts example of the care of records is being followed by other States, and deserves to be followed by all, the report has a widespread interest. A State standard ink has been evolved for insuring permanence of records, and Mr. Swan now addresses himself to the subject of the ink proper for typewritten records. This discussion, too, has a general importance. For one thing, he says, never use a copying-ribbon for records.

The well-known American Father Hecker is not allowed to rest easy in his grave. He was made last year the occasion of a stout volume, by Charles Maignen, entitled 'Études sur l'américanisme. Le Père Hecker est-il un saint?' (Rome: Desclée & Lefebvre; Paris: Retaux). The question implies the author's answers. The Abbé discovers, beside the virtues of his antagonist, shortcomings spiritual and intellectual, and aberrant doctrine. Father Hecker was a Liberal in disguise. His pet Paulist foundation makes no show in vigor in comparison with the Redemptorists whom he quitted when seeking a more "American" form of conventual life.

The *Annales de Géographie* for January contains a brief description of some of the physical features of the coast of Maine as an example of the coastal plane, by Prof. W. M. Davis of Harvard, and the conclusion of M. Pasquet's account of the development of London—the "ville-province." His aim has been, not to attempt to exhaust so vast and fertile a subject, but simply to show "how the past of London has determined the present, how this past still lives in the present." There is also an illustrated account of a journey in Southern Yunnan, and an interesting summary of the results of the commercial mission to China of the Lyons Chamber of Commerce, accompanied by a valuable "economic" chart, exhibiting, among other things, the principal products, distributing centres, and ways of communication in Central and Southern China. M. Martonne describes the curious distribution of forests in Madagascar, where they form a belt,—in some places two belts—surrounding the interior treeless highlands, the different species of trees and their commercial value.

The overthrow of Mahdism has directed attention anew to the great Mohammedan Religious Order of the Sanûsiyah, which, though not yet fifty years old, has one hundred and twenty monasteries scattered throughout northern Africa and the Sudan, and seven hundred students in the theological college attached to the head monastery in the oasis of Jaghbûb in the Libyan desert. According to a writer in the *Church Missionary Intelligencer* for January, the great object of the founder "was to erect an impassable barrier to the progress of Western civilization and the influence of Christian powers in Muslim lands." In these ardent propagators of a great Pan-Islamic movement it is possible that Great Britain and France will find deadly foes harder to conquer than the Khalifa and his dervishes.

Among the varied contents of the January Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund are reports of the new excavations on the possible site of Gath by Dr. Bliss and his associate, and an interesting notice, with photographs, of Abraham's oak at Hebron, by Dr. C. Shick. In regard to this region he says, "One thing struck me, namely, to see that in the last forty years the cultivation of the land, hills, and valleys had made marvellous progress round this site and Hebron in general. Everywhere it was green with vines, trees, etc., and between them are many new houses in all directions. Moreover, wherever I went, there was plenty of water to be found either in cisterns or springs, and I could see several rivulets or little brooks." A traveller on the east of the Jordan in 1898 met the Haj pilgrimage on its way to Mecca. It consisted of 10,000 civilians, with an escort of 500 mounted infantry and a mountain battery, and was at least four miles long. Children and women, he says, were almost in as great numbers as men, and for half an hour after it passed he could hear it "like the sound of the sea." He was particularly impressed with the marvellous discipline which prevailed among this mixed multitude.

"The Mythology of the Bella Coola Indians," by Franz Boas, is published in the Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History as the second contribution of the Jesup North Pacific expedition. It treats of the remnants of a once numerous tribe now living on the coasts of Dean Inlet and Bentinck Arm in British Columbia. They are shown to have developed a peculiar mythology, involving the coördination of a number of supernatural beings whose functions are so well defined that they may properly be termed deities. This system is vastly superior to that of the neighboring tribes. The Bella Coola are divided into village communities organized on an endogamic basis, each having its tradition and rites. The description of their ceremonies, and translation of many of their legends, constitute a valuable addition to our knowledge of Indian folk-lore. A series of plates portray the masks used in some of the ceremonials.

The Museum has also issued the tenth volume of its Bulletin, containing several papers of note. "The Huichol Indians of Mexico," a primitive tribe hitherto almost unknown, are described by Carl Lumholtz, who also contributes an article by himself and Ales Hrdlicka on "Marked Human Bones from a Prehistoric Tarasco Indian burial-place in the State of Michoacan, Mexico." These are believed to have been the bones of enemies kept as amulets and buried with the warrior who procured them. William Beutenmüller's "Descriptive Catalogue of the Bombycine Moths found within Fifty Miles of New York City" is illustrated with several plates. Papers on "The Extinct Camelidæ of North America and some Associated Forms," by J. L. Wortman, on "The Vertebrate Fauna of the Hudson Highlands, with Observations on the Mollusca, Crustacea, Lepidoptera, and the Flora of this Region," by Edgar A. Mearns, and contributions from Joel A. Allen, Henry F. Osborn, and others are included in this volume.

The *Anales* of the Argentine Meteorological Office, volume 12, contains the first instalment of a series of observations relating to the climate of Ascunción, Paraguay, and Rosario, province of Santa Fé.

Dr. Murray remarked lately that it was a rash man who should affirm what his Oxford Dictionary didn't contain. A correspondent reminds us that Franklin's "Orthodoxy is my doxy," etc., has already appeared under *doxy*, but not ascribed to him, and with an error of J. Q. Adams for John Adams, and of year (1778 for 1779). There, also, is given Priestley's attribution of nearly the same formula to Bishop Warburton.

—Mr. Todd, who founded the newspaper department in the Boston Public Library, has procured for that institution a file, complete as far as possible, of the London *Times*. This gift is of 232 bound volumes, which include all issues since 1808. The file in the Lenox Library runs back two years further, to 1806. That in the Congressional Library is said to be the only one in America containing all issues of the *Times* from its establishment in 1788. It seems impossible now to discover in book marts any file for the first twenty years which are lacking in Mr. Todd's collection. Nor is this strange, since in 1800 its circulation was no more than 1,000 copies. It is now thirty years wanting one since Mr. Todd brought about the establishment of a newspaper reading-room in Newburyport, by offering the City Council $300 a year for purchasing newspapers if an apartment for the use of them should be furnished by the authorities. He was then a resident of Newburyport, and has described to the writer how he was led to that new library departure. Meeting business men (often of liberal education), he asked scores of them how many books they had read during the last year, and in most cases the answer was, "None. We must read the papers or we cannot do business; and then we have no time for books." Solon's laws were not the best he could give, but they were the best the Athenians would take. Thus speaks Mr. Todd regarding his experiment in Newburyport and his benefaction to Boston.

—The Wisconsin Historical Society, which ended its first half century on the 30th of January, has just published an annotated Catalogue of its Newspaper Files in a volume of three hundred and seventy-five pages. The size of this compilation appears surprising, although the collection amounts to

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ten thousand bound volumes; but the work is much more than a list of newspaper titles. On well-nigh every page are notes as to the successive editors, politics, religious doctrine, and other features of the publications. For example, the New York *Weekly Inspector*, an octavo journal which attained two volumes, August, 1806-7, was "edited by Thomas Green Fessenden in opposition to Jefferson." (It was to this publication that Poe truthfully referred for one of the earliest occurrences of the word *highbinder*.) In many files there is many a gap, but it is frankly stated with infinite painstaking what and how many there are of these missing links. Thus, it is confessed that the sixty years of the *Pennsylvania Gazette* treated in sixteen lines are represented by only thirty-four volumes, although not a few numbers are of the rarest dates, as 1775-'77, the volumes for which three years are quoted by dealers as worth $500. Reproductions and facsimiles are also carefully acknowledged, and the presence of an index in each volume. To facilitate the labor of consulting the catalogue, it is divided into two parts, the first of which is styled Geographical. Here the papers are arranged alphabetically according to their location—first those in the several United States, and then those in foreign countries. In the second part, termed Chronological, the arrangement is by decades, with abbreviated titles, while for details in each case the reader is referred back to Part First. The earliest of all issues was in Oxford (Eng.), *Mercurius Aulicus*, 1643. The earliest dates in America were the Boston *Gazette*, 1719, and, in Philadelphia, the *American Weekly Mercury* and the *Independent Whig*, both 1720. The foreign publications are set forth under two hundred and eighty-two titles. The titles up to 1750 were sixty-nine, and fifty-six in the Revolutionary decade 1771-'80. Among foreign notabilia are the Toronto *Grip*, 40 volumes, the Parisian *Moniteur*, 31 volumes, and the Leyden *Nouvelles Extraordinaires*, 18 volumes, from 1765. This Wisconsin newspaper index seems to make a new departure in its line, and has cost a prodigality of labor. No newspaper searcher in any large collection can fail to hold in grateful remembrance Miss Emma Helen Blair, to whose patient, intelligent research and rare expertness the editors chiefly ascribe whatever is most valuable in the Catalogue.

—The American Economic Association has published (through Macmillan) the first of its studies for 1899, containing the notable presidential address of Prof. Hadley, on the "Relation between Economics and Politics," and the reports of two committees, on currency reform and on the twelfth census. All deserve careful attention, and give evidence of the useful activity of the Association. The Report on Currency Reform is a temperate and careful statement, by a body of competent specialists, of the reasons why reform is needed, and of the direction in which it should proceed; and, without obtruding any pet plan of its own, gives advice which, alas, the average Congressman is too apt to disregard. Yet every such judicial statement of the needs of the case has its effect on public opinion, and serves to strengthen the slow-gathering convictions of the half-informed legislator. The Report of the Committee on the Twelfth Census is a more elaborate production, and criticises in detail the methods of our overgrown census. A reasonable pruning of the scope of the census is generally advocated, and the familiar and sensible recommendation for the establishment of a permanent census bureau is repeated. We observe that the complete reports by the various experts (some twenty in number) who examined for this committee the several divisions of the census, are to be published in full as one of the larger monographs of the Association. The volume so made up will be a mine for all who have occasion to use the census volumes, and will command attention among the official compilers of statistics the world over.

—We take this opportunity to notice two other of the Studies recently published by the Economic Association. Mr. M. A. Aldrich's summary account of the American Federation of Labor (No. 4 of the Studies of 1898) is by far the best to be had of that curious organization. Neither a trade-union proper, nor a loose affiliation of everything in sight, like the English Trade Union Congress or the Central Labor Unions of our cities, the American Federation has pursued for many years a steady policy of promoting trade-union organization, which, whether or no one sympathizes with its aims, commands the respect due to careful plan and consistent execution. It has at least a fighting chance of escaping the fate of its predecessors, and especially of the Knights of Labor, who met deserved defeat and almost extinction after a brief career of o'ervaulting ambition and organized disorder. How far the Federation will succeed in maintaining its coherence, will withstand the blandishments of the Socialists and the insidious temptation to take a hand in party politics (always the beginning of the end in our labor organizations)—all this the future must show. Meanwhile Mr. Aldrich's compact analysis will be welcome to observers of this factor in the social movement. Somewhat different in type, yet useful in the same way, is the account of the purchase of the railways by the state in Switzerland, which Dr. J. Cummings has translated from the French of M. Michèle. Here we have a movement which, on the surface at least, is of signal interest to the American public: the purchase and prospective management of the entire railway system by a democratic community having a federal political organization very similar to ours. It is true that the small scale of the operation, the peculiar geographical position of Switzerland, the curious financial complications from the ownership of bonds by the Swiss and of stocks by foreigners, deprive the experiment of the significance which at first sight it seems to have for us. But none the less the movement is a most instructive one, taking its place with the state railways of the Australian colonies as portending a danger or a triumph—as one chooses to view it—for the future of democracy. This account, at all events, tells the tale; we know of no other source in English where one can learn just what has been done in Switzerland, why and how the railway purchase is to take place, the pros and cons of the debate. As everywhere, the advocates of state purchase take a rose-colored view of the financial outlook, and do not fairly grapple with the financial complications which are inevitable when the democratic public demands at once good pay for the servants and low rates for the service.

—When is there to be an end with Sir Richard Burton? His life was essentially one of "fierce wars and faithful loves." Dr. Johnson would have taken him to his heart as a good hater. And the wars and the hates promise to drag themselves on so long as there are papers of his left that in any degree seem ready for publication. His friends would be well advised to leave him at rest with the work which he has done and of which the world already knows; it is surely enough to keep his fame as a great linguist, an unwearied explorer, and a gallant soldier. He was not a scholar—his judgments and theories are worth nothing; but what he saw he told, and we can depend upon his story. His great version of the 'Thousand and One Nights,' in spite of the loquacious inadequacy of its commentary, is the work of a specialist in life though an amateur in books. Compare his account of Mecca with that of Snouck Hurgronje. Burton's, with all its little absurdities, lives; that of the Dutch scholar is learned, accurate, and very dull. But for the existence, at least in print, of such essays as have now been edited by W. H. Wilkins ('The Jew, the Gypsy, and El Islam'; Chicago: Herbert S. Stone & Co.), there seems no shadow of excuse. The volume, beautifully printed and got up, with an excellent etching of Leighton's portrait, contains three separate papers. The first, on the Jew, might be regarded as a venomous attack if it merited any regard at all; but in it Burton is among books, and his amateurism is rampant, self-sufficient, and exhaustive. His appendix, dealing with human sacrifice among the Eastern Jews, and with the murder of Padre Tomaso, the only part of first-hand value, is suppressed by the editor. The second is a study of the gypsy, and may contain some useful matter, as it is based on Burton's own observations. That, however, can be determined only by "Chinganologists"—such is their beautiful name—and to them we must leave it. Experience of Burton in other fields suggests that the harvest here may not be great. Much of the essay is taken up by polemic as to priority. Third, comes a comparatively short paper on Islam, about which the less said the better. It seems to have been written soon after 1853; and it will be absolutely misleading to all but those who do not need to read it. Perhaps, when all our squabbles and jealousies have been stilled by the throwing of the little dust, these essays of Burton may be read as we now read 'The Anatomy of Melancholy' of his great ancestor. Then the wild ideas, the far-fetched learning, the squinting brain working in a style strangely mixed of the purest English and a dozen tongues besides, may come to their true kingdom.

—Mr. Thwaites's edition of the 'Jesuit Relations' (Cleveland: Burrows Brothers Co.), which is now almost exactly midway in its course of publication, reaches with volumes xxxiii. and xxxiv. what is probably the culminating point of its interest, if one considers the narratives chiefly as records of heroic and self-obliterating deeds. We refer to the destruction or dispersion of the Huron people by the Iroquois, a catastrophe which involved one of the Jesuit missions and several of the leading missionaries. 1648 and 1649, memorable in European history for the Peace of Westphalia and the execution of Charles I., were also years of great activity in the American wilderness. During 1648

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the Jesuits thought themselves (leaving out the one contingency of Iroquois attack) within easy reach of a coveted object, viz., the salvation of several thousand Hurons. We have already seen that Brébeuf did not shut his eyes to the likelihood of a deadly attack from the Five Nations, but, during the twelvemonth before that relentless foe came with fire and sword, the purely missionary prospects appeared much more hopeful than ever before. At one spot in Huronia, the residence of Ste. Marie, there were, according to Ragueneau's report, forty-two Frenchmen, including eighteen Jesuits. 1,300 persons had been baptized since the last annual report, and 3,000 natives sheltered by the fathers during times of famine and pestilence. Furthermore, it had been proved by experience that a better means existed of reaching the Indians than by open denunciation of their witchcraft and devils. Gentle ridicule and an appeal to the judgment were yielding the fruits of salvation where threats of hell-fire had previously proved fruitless. Many of the early converts are reported as proving steadfast, and manifesting a faith which does not desert them even among the flames of torture.

—Thus, in 1648, Ragueneau records some striking successes; yet the year had its full share of disappointment and death. On the 4th of July St. Joseph was sacked by the Iroquois, Father Daniel martyred, the church destroyed, and the flock butchered or scattered. Early in the next spring the foe returned, now confident of capturing the principal Huron villages and destroying the flower of the race. Two explicit accounts remain of this raid—the most sanguinary which was ever directed by one North American tribe against another. The one is Christopher Regnaut's narrative of the death which Brébeuf and Gabriel Lalemant met; the other, Ragueneau's story of the whole invasion, with its immediate results. We omit details of the torture to which the Jesuits were subjected (merely recalling their superb fortitude), and confine our brief notice to Regnaut's statement concerning the episode. Since this is the principal source of information as to the manner of Brébeuf's death, it deserves scrutiny. The details proceed from an Indian source, for neither Regnaut nor any other Frenchman fell into Iroquois hands at St. Ignace and survived. In this regard our source resembles that relating to Dollard's exploit at the Long Saut in 1660. He and his sixteen followers were all killed, and the circumstances of the fight rest on Huron testimony. However, Regnaut stands much nearer to Brébeuf's martyrdom than does any French writer to Dollard, because on the day following he reached the spot and found remains which justified the Indians' stories. He describes in the most explicit way what he discovered, and how he secured the relics which were afterwards venerated at Quebec. The style of this important document is simple and straightforward, although in concluding the writer apologizes for its roughness: "'Ce n'est pas un Docteur de Sorbonne qui a composé cecy vous le voyez bien; cest un reste d'Iroquois et une personne qui a vescu plus qu'il ne pensoit."

## A PIONEER.

*Emma Willard and her Pupils;* or, Fifty Years of Troy Female Seminary. American Tract Society. 1898.

This bulky volume, published by Mrs. Russell Sage, frankly accounts for itself in a preface of admirable candor, though of very little literary competence. It is part of an organized attempt by students of Mrs. Willard's Troy Seminary to do honor to their teacher, and incidentally to place themselves in the ranks of sharers in the so-called higher education. The work of collecting and compiling this record was intrusted to a committee of the Emma Willard Association. The result is something between an expanded form of the ordinary general catalogue of a college or university, and a literary and social study of an institution of learning. This is to be regretted, for, in spite of index and classification, an alphabetical list of the students of the Troy Seminary conceals by its very fulness much that is of interest to the reader, and, on the other hand, the historical sketch of Mrs. Willard and her work seems almost pitifully inadequate until it is supplemented by the scores of interesting reminiscences appearing in the rambling contributions of the representatives of Mrs. Willard's seven thousand pupils. The portraits of persons connected with the Seminary give a fair impression of the wide range of the influence of Troy Seminary, and suggest some of the reasons why Mrs. Willard, in spite of her undoubted ability and devotion to the interests of women's education, did not succeed as did her contemporary, Mary Lyon, with far less personal magnetism and with a less striking personality, in founding a permanent institution or in definitely influencing the course of higher education for women in this country.

Mrs. Willard leaves the impression of having been more of a courtier than of a statesman. Her trust was in persons rather than in ideas; and her resources, in the demonstration of strong individuality rather than in the development of fundamental social ideals. When the New York lower house threw out the bill for endowing her school, she declared, "Could I have died a martyr to the cause and thus have secured its success, I should have blessed the faggot and hugged the stake"; but she had apparently played her last card, except so far as she could recommend her school by industry and enterprise of the personal sort. It is a perfectly natural sequel, from the reader's point of view, that her personal and deputed conduct of the school should be referred to as "the Willard dynasty," but the reader feels that this is not the way institutions grow. Mr. Depew's tribute to her on the occasion of the dedication of the Russell Sage Hall in 1895, "She was an apostle, an evangel of the higher education of women. . . . Her influence did not stop here. It crossed the ocean; . . . it created Girton and Newnham Colleges under the shadows of Oxford and Cambridge," etc., is not simply eulogy in hysterics, it is a complete misapprehension of the history of the higher education of women. The relation of Girton and Newnham to the education of women is so essentially different from anything dreamed of by Mrs. Willard that it may fairly be questioned whether she would have approved of it; and in any case the credit for the idea of a college for women connected with one of the English universities and resulting in Girton College must be definitely given to Miss Emily Davies, as far as it is worth while to assign credit for ideas so manifestly in the air that it is almost a matter of chance who happens to express them first.

But all this detracts not at all from the value of the specific services Mrs. Willard rendered to her generation, nor from the impressive dignity of her personality, and only changes the angle from which her work is to be viewed. Born in 1787, in Berlin, Conn., the sixteenth of seventeen children, before the appearance of Webster's Dictionary or Spelling-Book, when families still did "chores" and knew leisure only by change from less to more congenial labor, Emma Hart was trained by the efforts of a father who read Shakspere and Milton aloud to his family, and who told them what he knew of science and encouraged their interest in it. She seems always to have been a girl whom Miss Austen would have called superior; and when, after financial trouble came upon her husband, Dr. John Willard, to whom she was married in 1809, she opened a school, it was the sort of thing readily looked for from her and in which her success was taken for granted. But a little town in Vermont, such as Middlebury, did not offer scope enough for her growing plans, and, with the experience she had gained in Waterford, N. Y., and in Middlebury, Vt., she moved her school to Troy. In this step she had enlisted the sympathy of DeWitt Clinton, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, George Combe, and Dr. Dick. It was in this stage of her work that she hoped for State aid, and indeed the Senate granted $2,000 for an endowment; but the bill failed in the House. With the help of $4,000 raised by the Troy Corporation by tax, and another fund raised by subscription, Mrs. Willard, at thirty-four years of age, opened the Troy Seminary.

Precisely what this change of plan meant to Mrs. Willard, and how far it may have modified the scope of her ambition, it is now impossible to say. It must be admitted that she was bitterly disappointed at her failure to secure State help for her school; but whether she essentially changed the character of what she was trying to do in view of this failure, or not, it is certain that her work had from the start certain clear limitations and an equally clear coherence. She found the public impervious to ideas that she valued highly, and, in many directions, she had politely to bully her public; in others she waited for the results of the educating process she was applying to the parents through their daughters. In this connection some of her letters, fortunately preserved, are most edifying, in spite of their inflated rhetoric. One of her primary objects was to improve the character of the teaching of women in the United States, and to this end she wrote textbooks and trained promising pupils for the profession (as she tried to persuade them their work might be considered). Her success may be inferred from the fact that she helped organize schools in Greece and in Bogotá, besides supplying teachers to scores of schools and to hundreds of families in this country. Some sixteen years before Mt. Holyoke was opened, she insisted upon public examinations for her pupils, provided them with instruction in science, and was one of the first to use the so-called laboratory method of instruction. She combated the notion that study of anatomy and physiology was indelicate in a woman, and insisted upon instruction in manners, cooking, and morals. She was a firm supporter of what was then known as woman's sphere, and wrote and talked emphatically of the claims of the home. Her

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interest in the engagements and marriages of her pupils was almost romantic, and she enjoyed journeying from one to another of the homes they had made, to see how they carried out the spirit of her instructions.

The history of the school is a frank display of the thousand and one interests, big and little, trivial and important, that make the thing we call education in a school for a hundred boarders and two hundred day scholars. Board and tuition in the Seminary, in 1819, cost at the rate of $3.50 a week. There are hints from time to time in the letters of old graduates that the modern college girl might profit by the simplicity in dress and furnishing required at Troy Seminary. One writes:

"I recall the simple, uncarpeted rooms, . . . each furnished with a lowpost double bedstead, a painted bureau, table and washstand of the simplest pattern, two chairs, a looking-glass, and a box-stove for wood. . . . We made our own beds and fires and brought up our own pitchers of water from the pump in the yard. A lunch of excellent dry bread, a slice apiece, was served to all who wished it twice a day, at eleven A. M. and nine P. M."

The course of study was more or less flexible, and nowhere is there a record of what precisely was required for graduation. It was not until 1843 that diplomas were awarded, but after that time a sharp distinction for official purposes seems to have been made between the holders of full diplomas and of "partial certificates." The textbooks used by Mrs. Willard herself have an antiquated flavor, full of quaint associations to some of us, from corner cupboards in country houses, or from the stories of aunts and cousins who went to Troy when a young woman from Canandaigua was known as one of the "Western girls." They were Newman's 'Rhetoric,' Hedge's 'Logic,' Paley's 'Moral Philosophy,' Dugald Stewart's 'Intellectual Philosophy,' Day's 'Algebra,' Legendre's 'Geometry,' Adams's 'Latin Grammar.' Besides writing and helping compile textbooks on geography and history, Mrs. Willard published a 'Treatise on the Motive Powers which produce the Circulation of the Blood,' which attracted respectful comment from scientists in Europe. Her 'Journal and Letters from France and Great Britain' by its sale helped found the first girls' school in Athens. Her poem "Rocked in the Cradle of the Deep" was written on her return from her first visit to Europe in 1830. At this time she visited the Government schools of France, and came back with profound conviction of the importance of the work women had to do in the world. In 1838 she surrendered the conduct of the school to her son and his wife, and retired to Berlin, Conn., where she took an active part in the educational interests of the State and of New England. Her friends at this time were Dr. Henry Barnard, Mr. May, and Mr. Alcott. In 1844 she went back to live in Troy, in the seminary grounds, and there, in 1870, she died.

The record of the pupils of the Troy Seminary is given in decades, each with a character and atmosphere of its own. The first naturally has more of the picturesque and the socially interesting, although there is quite as much of definite attainment and more of positive accomplishment in any one of the later periods. A touch of pathos and tragedy comes in with the histories of the woman associated closely with the civil war. The Troy Seminary had always drawn many pupils from the South, and it is to the credit of the school that the representatives of both North and South were energetically loyal to their standards of duty during the conflict, and prompt to avail themselves of opportunities for the renewal of old ties as soon as it was over. The fifth decade closes the connection of the Willard family with Troy Seminary. In 1872 Mr. and Mrs. John Willard withdrew, the seminary property owned by the city was purchased by the trustees, and Miss Emily Treat Wilcox made principal. That the school, even after its fifth decade had closed, was still popular, is shown by the fact that, on Miss Wilcox's withdrawal, in 1895, eighty young women received diplomas for the full course and nine took certificates for a partial course. But before this the women's colleges had been opened, and department work had been organized along lines of a strict division of labor. The time was past when a woman teaching mathematics, chemistry, the higher branches of physics, English literature, and psychology, herself, however highly endowed or however attractive and influential, could expect to compete with the college for women, differently organized and with a most attractive social life. The fifth decade, therefore, contains many names of a high degree of general attainment, but fewer than any other of eminence or special accomplishment. Henceforward these were to be looked for in the catalogues of Mt. Holyoke, Vassar, Smith, Wellesley, Radcliffe, Bryn Mawr, the associated colleges for women, and in coeducational colleges and universities.

## HENRY REEVE.

*Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of Henry Reeve*, C.B., D.C.L. By J. K. Laughton, M.A. Longmans, Green & Co. 1898.

This is the 'Life' of a man who was exceptionally happy in realizing every energy and using all his talents like tools. A "lambent dulness" inevitably plays about the biography of one who, without personal brilliance, pursued so unchequered a career. Henry Reeve is a good representative of a nation that has set its heart's delight upon action, and these two volumes record a long life of hard work and energetic play. With no advantages of birth or fortune, without a spark of imagination or a ray of humor, this middle-class provincial, by dint of a calm self-confidence and an intelligent and active interest in the questions of the day, acquired an influence that, for fifteen years, at least, was international. He was the only son of a widowed mother of small fortune, and it was to her common sense that he owed the advantage of not having buried his mind in a university education—a piece of good fortune that sometimes lifts your average Englishman above the mediocrity that, to the 'varsity man, too often appears golden. Like Gibbon, he rubbed off the provincial in Switzerland, and acquired his cosmopolitanism in the brilliant society of Geneva and Paris. A desultory education and frequent visits to the French capital did much to counterbalance the solid British qualities of a man who had not a single redeeming vice.

That there was much solidity to leaven we gather from his youthful letters from Geneva. At the age of nineteen, he writes in describing a friend's marriage:

"The young ladies have, of course, been thrown into a delicate confusion by this early *enlèvement* of one of their virginal band; *puis, de l'autre côté*, the cohort of male admirers in dire dismay and disappointment. . . . I, for my part, at the above-mentioned soirée, made my congratulatory bow with all due gallantry; but in my own room I have felt that a very vain bubble, when it bursts, leaves almost as great a chasm in a man's spirit as if a mountain rose from its foundations and became air" (p. 20).

This is "steep" even for the Early Victorian thirties. At the same age he "thinks with Cousin" (or rather, "has long thought") what Cousin thinks; at twenty-two he writes that "Hugo has fallen rather low, and is so mad, so childish, and so blackguard that all his acquaintance have cut him, or he them. I saw him at the Bibliothèque du Roi, but did not care to renew our acquaintance" (p. 36). A few years later he "dropped the acquaintance" of Louis Napoleon.

It is not, however, our object to show that Henry Reeve lacked a sense of proportion and a sense of humor; we should rather remind ourselves that this dull person who, to judge by his correspondence, from his teens to his seventies, was never guilty of an incorrect sentiment or a single epigram, so impressed his contemporaries with his ability that at twenty-five he was given the responsible and well-paid post of Clerk of Appeals to the Privy Council, and at twenty-six was "on terms of acquaintance with the whole cabinet." From 1842 to '57 he was one of the chief leader-writers for the *Times*, in the days of Delane's editorship, when the spirit of nations still rose or sank every morning at the bidding of the most important journal in Europe. Reeve had nothing of the "touch-and-go, blackguard-genteel" which, as Scott said, distinguishes the genuine press-man. He never "plunged," but wrote his leaders with a lively sense that he was swaying the cabinets of Europe. And whenever there was a political crisis, especially in foreign affairs, it is plain that Reeve's private letters of advice (written, for the most part, from Paris) had a real influence on the policy of the English statesmen to whom they were addressed. His relations with French politicians were hardly less intimate. Guizot and De Tocqueville, whose 'Democracy in America' he translated, were his lifelong friends. Perhaps the most interesting portions of the book are those connected with the *Coup d'État* and the fortunes of the Empire, to which Reeve was inveterately hostile. In 1855, at the age of forty-two, he succeeded Lewis as editor of the *Edinburgh Review*, and ceased to write for the *Times*. In spite of Disraeli's sneer at the quarterlies as "Boots at the Red Lion and Chambermaid at the Blue Boar," whose occupation had gone with the coming of railways, the editorship of the *Edinburgh* was still one of the highest prizes of the profession of literature. Moreover, Reeve, who, besides writing many articles himself, never published the articles of his contributors without careful revision, may be said to have occupied, like Oliver Wendell Holmes, "not so much a chair as a settee."

He was, at heart, an historian and a politician rather than a literary man. If we may judge from his 'Life,' he practically left off reading when he began to write. We get no glimpse of his literary preferences or dislikes; his judgment of Carlyle—he "is *odious*—arrogance, vanity, self-conceit, ingratitude to old friends"—is purely personal and in the nature of a *tu quoque*. Though his thorough grasp of a given political situation made him invaluable in

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Downing Street, he had no gift for political prophecy. He always expected an Orleanist restoration, he backed King Otho and championed Austria against the Hungarians, Gladstone, who has fared so ill in contemporary biography, was naturally the *bête noire* of so determined a Conservative. After the defeat of the home-rule bill in 1886, Reeve writes: "I do not remember another instance in which a man's best and earliest friends have turned upon him, to unmask him, and that without any motive of personal resentment. It is the noble motive which led Brutus to strike Cæsar" (p. 346). It was about this time that Mr. Labouchere said of Gladstone: "How is it possible to play with an old sinner who has got an ace up each sleeve, and says God Almighty put them there?"

The professional politician will find in these pages much that is of interest, if not strikingly new. In 1873 Reeve suggests that "England is directly concerned in Cuba by its close proximity to the Bahamas. Cay Lobos (British territory) is but twenty-four miles from Cay Confites (Cuban territory). That leaves but eight miles of high seas in width. The people of the Bahamas have made frequent complaint to the Governor about the conduct of the Spanish authorities in Cuba. In August this year the Governor of the Bahamas sent a memorial to the Captain-General of Cuba about the impediments to the Bahama sponging-trade caused by the arbitrary acts of the Spaniards. No notice has been taken of this. It has not even been acknowledged" (p. 220).

In 1895, during the struggle between China and Japan, he writes to a friend: "It is curious that nobody points out that the United States are the country with the largest future interest in the Pacific, and that they must have a voice in this controversy" (p. 398).

The general reader will be interested in Reeve's account of the famous "Brougham hoax," which is told in outline in the 'Greville Memoirs,' but now for the first time in detail. In October, 1839, Reeve wrote to his mother:

"So rapid and so mysterious is the flight of all rumors which have grief in them, that I shall probably not be the first to announce to you the death of Lord Brougham. Yesterday morning A. Montgomery, a youth on whom Brougham doted, rushed over to Gore House before they had sat down to breakfast, with the letter in his hand. . . . It was from Shafto, the only uninjured survivor of the party. Brougham, Leader [still alive in 1898], and Shafto hired a bad hack carriage to go from Brougham Hall to see a ruin in the neighborhood. It was so like him to choose to go in a wheelbarrow instead of a coach and four. They had not gone far when the splinter-bar broke; they were thrown out, and one of the horses kicked Brougham on the head, which made him insensible, so that he could not get out of the way of the carriage, which turned over on him in the ditch, crushed his head, and killed him on the spot."

This was the only letter received in London. In an hour the rumor pervaded the town.

"Sheil rushed from the Athenæum to pen a magniloquent obituary, which appeared in the next day's *Chronicle*. . . . Windsor Castle shook with glee, and Lord Holland began to think that he should venture to speak again in the Lords'. For the first time for five years, all the world talked for a whole day about Brougham's virtues, and there was wondrous forgiveness of injuries in the whole metropolis. For my part I had selected the 12th and 13th verses of St. Jude's Epistle for the funeral sermon. . . . Nobody could look at Brougham's wild, uncouth handwriting without tears in his eyes. . . . I had not half done my reflections on B. and his gifts when I discovered from a letter from Brougham, dated Sunday, that he did not die on Saturday. In the afternoon everyody learned it was a hoax—a very pretty piece of devil's amusement."

Reeve adds that, in November, when the Queen had withdrawn from the Council, "the Duke of Cambridge ran round the room after Brougham, vociferating at the top of his voice, 'By God, Brougham, you did it; by God, you wrote the letter yourself'; to which B. could not well reply," though he had actually challenged his old friend, Sir A. Paget, the week before, for saying as much.

Reeve makes another effort to clear Mrs. Norton's memory of the charge of treachery which Mr. Meredith has done much to perpetuate in 'Diana of the Crossways.' The facts are these: Early in December, Peel announced to his colleagues in the Cabinet his intention to repeal the Corn Laws. Lord Aberdeen told Delane, the *Times* editor, on December 3, and on the 4th the *Times* published it. There was great agitation, and Peel resigned on the 6th. His premature announcement in the *Times* was a piece of strategy on the part of Aberdeen, who wished to soothe the Government of the United States in the negotiations then pending. But this was not known, and so the scandalous story arose that Delane had bought the secret from Mrs. Norton, to whom it had been confided by Sidney Herbert, one of her admirers. Mr. Meredith, in the last edition of 'Diana,' has added a note to the effect that the incident is fiction, but the misrepresentation will probably haunt Mrs. Norton's memory for ever.

Reeve owes a great part of his reputation to the notoriety he gained over the publication of the 'Greville Memoirs.' Greville had intended to intrust the famous journals to Sir G. Lewis, editor of the *Edinburgh*, but he survived Lewis, and Reeve, a week before Greville's death, was invited to take over the memoirs as he had taken over the editorship of the *Review*. The 'Greville Memoirs' had a success of merit as well as a *succès de scandale*. The first part was published in 1874.

"The Queen, though I believe she had not yet read the book, but only newspaper extracts, sent me a message by Helps to express her disapproval of it, on these grounds: (1.) It was disparaging to her family. (2.) It tended to weaken the monarchy. (3.) It proceeded from official persons. I begged Helps to reply, with my humble duty, that the book showed that, if the monarchy had really been endangered, it was by the depravity of George IV. and the absurdities of William IV.; but that under her Majesty's reign it had become stronger than ever" (p. 226).

The Queen, however, never forgave Reeve, and he never received the K.C.B. which would naturally have followed on the C.B. given to him in 1871.

We do not think it is altogether the fault of his biographer, Prof. Laughton, that one reads the two massive volumes of this biography without becoming interested in the personality of Henry Reeve. He kept no *journal intime*, and we could have spared the extracts from his meagre diary of engagements which Prof. Laughton has too conscientiously included. A mere list of dinner engagements with all the celebrated men and women of Europe, and no record of their table-talk, is but a Barmecide feast for the reader. To us, Reeve appears as a sedate and pompous official. His biographer should have made some effort to explain how it was that a person who, from his letters, seems able to record nothing but commonplace facts and strikes no spark from his correspondents, was a social success, to a degree that is mysterious, in the most fastidious and brilliant circles of London and Paris.

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*Chinese Porcelain*. By W. G. Gulland. With notes by T. J. Larkin, and 485 illustrations. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1898. Pp. xxiv, 270.

This book is an attempt to do for the student in ceramic art, or in the collecting of decorative objects generally, a part of what is done at a much higher cost by the large books of Du Sartel and Grandidier. That is to say, it gives a great many illustrations, in fairly good photographic prints, of important pieces of Chinese porcelain, and these are so far described that their significance is explained to the comparatively unpractised student. It is a regrettable fact that photography renders fine Oriental ceramic ware rather less agreeably than works of art of any other class. The gloss or still higher polish of the porcelain, the rounded forms retreating from the focus, the prevalence of deep-blue which the photograph always misinterprets, the placing of patterns, borders, and figures on such inaccessible surfaces as the shoulder of a vase or the inner side of the lip—all these circumstances enhance the general difficulty of rendering bright colors in the photographic gray and white. A piece of porcelain has to be handled to be enjoyed—every collector knows that; even the piece behind the plate glass of the museum and plainly visible in full daylight (as all museum pieces are not), is difficult to appreciate thoroughly. Take away from it, then, the charm of color, the truthfulness of representation which only a comparatively flat near object can receive, and show from one point of view only that which is meant to be examined from a quite indefinite number of points of view, and you face a difficulty which has hitherto been insuperable. For this reason the description of each photograph in the text is quite essential. Even a nearly flat plate is much better understood after being so described; and when it is a convex and somewhat elaborate piece which is the subject of examination, the description becomes indispensable.

There are two attempts in the book at classification of pieces, the one by their shapes, the other by their surface decoration. It is hard to see the value of either of these attempts. The first classification, that of form, begins with the commonest European shapes, cups with handles, cups and saucers, dishes and platters, and the like; and one of these tea-cups is called "bell-shaped," another "cylindrical," which it certainly is not, and other pieces are described simply as "rectangular," meaning thereby rectangular in plan, or "hexagonal," or "octagonal," with the same significance. It would be hard to explain what is gained for the student by being able to refer to such a classification as this. The only thing which he would be apt to get from the pages and the cuts devoted to this subject is the readier use of the names employed in the trade—such names as "beaker," "ginger-jar," "pilgrim-bottle," etc., and such adjectives as "oviform," "bulbous," and "pear-shaped." In other words, these pages serve as a dictionary reversed; the name of the object being given after the presentation of the object—or definition first, term afterwards. The possible utility of this is, of course, to be admitted. The other classifica-

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tion, that by decoration, is apparently an enlargement of the rather preposterous one introduced by Albert Jacquemart. It is due to the dealers in porcelains to say that they are not very much enamoured of the attempted division of Chinese porcelain into *famille verte* and the other families, and the relegation of by far the greater number of varieties and styles to the "exceptional" class. On the other hand, the terms "céladon," "under-glaze," and such partly naturalized French terms as "flambé" and "soufflé" should be explained, and are so explained here. The fault to be found with this part of the work is its failure to seem really learned—to be the outcome of a lifelong acquaintance with the subject.

This is still more visible in the prefatory chapters devoted to the Chinese religion; drawing, painting; symbols, emblems, and charms; flowers and plants; and fabulous animals. In all this there is apparently one point of view only, the old, exclusively European, untravelled, non-Oriental, condescending tone. The religion and philosophy of China are treated as if by a Christian missionary, the painting is treated as if by an exclusive student of eighteenth-century painting in oil, the decorative writing is treated as if by a person who cannot understand that writing in itself can be lovely, and who is, therefore, not a student of mediæval or later manuscripts. The symbols, emblems, and charms are explained according to the traditional old ways, without any serious attempt at ascertaining the facts, and the way in which the painting on porcelain of animals and plants is criticised can be best exemplified by the following sentence (p. 115): "The drawing of flowers on porcelain is often so conventionalized, and the coloring so untrue to nature, that it is frequently difficult to make out the particular species intended." As to this last subject, it is, however, fair to say that it is rather description than criticism which this part of the book undertakes. It is only when one opens the book at the brief chapter devoted to drawing and painting that he meets the full European ignorance of Oriental art in a concentrated form. The opinions of Marryat about Chinese painting, and the queer old stories, so often repeated, of how the Chinese could not understand drawings in perspective, and the like, are offered here once more as grave analysis, and here again a sentence expresses the whole chapter: "The inveterate prejudices of the Chinese did not admit in painting either of drawing or perspective." Again, in the paragraph on Drawing and Painting, on page 7, and under the general treatise on Religion, it is gravely alleged that, as the Chinese always prefer literature to fine art, so "*the small amount of encouragement* accorded to drawing and painting accounts for the, in some respect, backward state of these arts in China." One would suppose that the recent treatises on the painting of China as seen through Japanese eyes, and on the painting of Japan, founded confessedly upon that of China, and what little has been ascertained direct of the great early schools of painters in the Middle Kingdom, had never been published. It is true, indeed, that Western people are hardly able as yet to study Chinese painting of the great schools with any thoroughness. Even the painting of Japan is but inadequately represented, except in one or two collections, not generally accessible; and perhaps those who control and best know those collections would be the first to say that even their abundant stores fail to reveal the whole historic truth. At the same time it is now easy to check and modify out of existence the hasty conclusions of writers who, half a century ago, before the opening of the Japanese world to Europe, themselves knowing nothing of any fine art whatever, blundered into statements not only untrue but containing the exact opposite of the truth.

The conclusion seems to be that nearly five hundred photographic illustrations with such comment as will explain their general significance cannot but be valuable, and that some of the information given in the chapters of general discussion is useful as well, except that this latter is too generally mingled with erroneous or wholly inadequate criticism.

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*The Battles of Trenton and Princeton.* By William S. Stryker. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1898. Illustrated.

In selecting the battles of Trenton and Princeton for historical study, General Stryker takes a subject that he has made peculiarly his own. He has from time to time printed for private circulation essays on the events connected with those engagements, and the volume now published comprises the mature results of special investigation. It is hardly necessary to point out the author's minute attention to detail, and the many evidences of his industrious drudgery among printed and manuscript sources. The work has been done thoroughly; and if it fall short in any line, it is not because of carelessness on the part of the writer, but because of certain limitations of view inevitable in so restricted a study.

The importance of the surprises, rather than battles, was of a political and not a military character; and in laying so much stress upon the military incidents, Mr. Stryker has slighted the more important, because the more lasting, effects on the social aspect of the Revolution. He has a partial appreciation of some of these effects, as his closing chapters show; but he fails to recognize their value in educating the Revolutionary forces. The evacuation of Boston by the British army certainly had a great effect in furthering the cause of liberty. The mere fact that an army, hastily collected, imperfectly equipped, and ignorantly officered, should have obliged the seasoned and disciplined troops of England to retreat from a stronghold open to the sea, was in itself sufficient to support the views of those who thought the success of revolution possible. But when the same forces, with the American army better trained and equipped, met on Long Island and above New York, the advantage possessed by the foreign soldiers became manifest, and Washington was forced to retire until he was beyond the Delaware, and pursuit was checked only by the absence of boats and the want of enterprise on the part of the British to build them.

Retreat is disheartening to an army when no alternative of success is offered. It was hopeless to make a stand against the enemy; almost equally hopeless to retreat through a country favorably disposed to accept the King's mercy, so liberally offered and so niggardly given. The very atmosphere of the Jerseys was tinged with loyalty, and Washington was "cruelly disappointed" in receiving no aid from the inhabitants. Hardly a company of men reinforced him in his long and anxious journey, while hundreds flocked to the following standard of the King, eager to make their peace and take the oath of allegiance. He gained no military strength during the retreat, but was successful in placing a wide river between his army and the enemy, thus securing time for gathering together his scattered forces. Even this was a matter of some difficulty, for Lee's eccentric movements and disregard of orders made a full union doubtful. Indeed, had not Lee been, or permitted himself to be, captured, the battles of December would never have taken place. As it was, reinforced by militia and in full command of his own army, Washington found himself strong enough to venture an offensive movement, and the successes have come down as constituting his strongest claim to military glory.

It is not as military operations, however brilliant, that Trenton and Princeton are to be gauged. They proved thus early in the game the incapacity of the Continental Congress to conduct the war, and the remarkable ascendancy of Washington's personality. They were the first test applied to the system of running a campaign through a legislative council, as compared with one controlled by a strong and independent executive. Congress had raised its army on short enlistments; so each December the trained force melted away, to give place to a new army that must be whipped into form. This experiment, defensible on political grounds, was disastrous in a military point of view, and reacted disastrously on the strength of Congress. To raise a new force and to pay bounties, required funds; to equip, to clothe and feed it, was very costly; to transport it, with all its baggage, in active service, was almost beyond the power of the commissariat as then constituted. Money was demanded in immense sums and wastefully expended. But Congress had no funds, levied no taxes, and was possessed of a doubtful credit, contingent upon success. Bills of credit had been issued in large amounts, and were accepted by the people until the enemy gained advantage. Every step taken by the British in the Jerseys reduced the area of circulation of these bills, and cast discredit on the whole issue. For who would accept these promises anywhere when their value was seen to vanish at the approach of the hostile force? British gold against American paper won the day, for unless the Revolution ended in independence, the Continental credit was worthless. Further, Congress was confessing its own weakness by hastily leaving Philadelphia on a prospect of Howe's advance, and by conferring powers of a dictator on Washington. Yet this was the body that "created" the credit on which the bills must rest. Their formal resolutions denying any intention to leave the city were as mischievous as those denouncing as enemies any who should refuse to accept at par the paper money. Both acts showed weakness, not strength; and both acts were properly interpreted by the people.

Unless Congress could give some evidence of an established credit, the contest was at an end. Unless it could still circulate its bills for something like their face value, it could not carry on the war. A military success was essential, and it was in recognition of this fact that Washington determined upon risking all on a happy stroke. His conduct was justified by the event. He checked the advance of the British, saved

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Philadelphia from capture, and obliged the enemy to retire to New York. The wavering were strengthened, Congress resumed its sessions at Philadelphia and again set the printing-presses to work. The poison of depreciation had set in too far to be checked, but it wrought more slowly; and the question of army management was brought to the front, though not fully settled for some years. Unless Washington had surprised the Hessians and carried the day at Princeton, the battle of Saratoga would not have been fought, and the French alliance would hardly have become effective. Trenton and Princeton are, therefore, pivotal events in the Revolution; but it is because of the lessons they taught in the administration of the army that they are of special value. Short enlistments were soon set aside for enlistments "during the war." Paper money in a few years ran its course of depreciation and disappeared from circulation, proving more destructive than the British army had ever been. With an army at his back, and a commissariat no longer dependent on the weak credit of Congress, Washington husbanded his strength until the happy occasion of the Virginia campaign offered a fair opportunity for exerting it. The politics of the Revolution made victory possible only when the Congress and its foolish financial experiments had been crowded from the scene. In December, 1776, its incapacity was first tested and proved.

It is a pleasure to meet with a work composed on such a scale and showing such care in matters usually slighted—such as the names and ranks of the officers. Apparently Lieut. Kimm was twice killed and on different places of the field (pp. 149 and 172). It is hardly just to assume, on so slight evidence, that Charles Lee was informing the enemy before his capture. The tendency to accept legends is compensated by a bulky appendix of original documents. The book has many illustrations, some of which are hardly historical.

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*The Autobiography of a Veteran*, 1807-1893. By General Count Enrico della Rocca. Translated from the Italian and edited by Janet Ross. Macmillan. 8vo. Pp. 299.

The translation of Della Rocca's memoirs has been made by Mrs. Janet Ross, daughter of that delightful letter-writer, Lady Duff Gordon, and granddaughter of Mrs. Sarah Austin, who was herself well known as a writer and translator. In translating, Mrs. Ross has somewhat condensed, especially the passages dealing with military details, which, for the ordinary reader, have little meaning and less interest. The result, so far as we have compared the translation with the original, is usually satisfactory. We have noticed no instance in which the General's opinions have been misrepresented through omission or condensation.

The work as it stands in English, even more as it stands complete in Italian, is as entertaining as it is important. It will take its place along with the autobiographies of Garibaldi and of Massimo d'Azeglio as a successful personal record of a great period. Many readers besides those who pay special heed to the history of recent Italy, will enjoy it, because it not only gives fresh news of famous persons and events, but also reveals in its author a character intrinsically interesting. Della Rocca is a type of that best class of Piedmontese nobility which did so much to transform little Piedmont into the Kingdom of Italy. Aristocracy has hardly ever had so fine an exemplification as in Piedmont during a part of this century. There *noblesse oblige* meant something. Della Rocca, like his peers, was brave, soldierly, devoted to his sovereign, having the instinct for diplomacy which seems to be innate in all Italians, and able, in spite of provincial bringing up, to conduct negotiations of great moment among the men of the world in Paris or Vienna. Moreover, in his personal criticisms on his contemporaries he is generous and candid; and he freely acknowledges his own mistakes. Very entertainingly does he describe the life of the old régime in which his youth was passed; and thenceforward, for more than fifty years, as he was attached to the person of Charles Albert and Victor Emanuel, he gives us near views of these remarkable princes. And not of them only, but of Napoleon III. and Plon-Plon, of Cavour, Lamarmora, Garibaldi, and most of the other Italian leaders of the age. He is no eavesdropper, nor scandal-monger, and had much rather talk over old campaigns than rehearse the court gossip of Europe; but he still admits enough personal details in his narrative to endue it with life. For the historian, he has many little points concerning the coming to pass of great events, and some secrets and half-secrets to reveal; while at all times his is the testimony of a credible witness whom fortune placed in a favorable position.

To enumerate the important events in which Della Rocca took part would be to outline most of the crises in Piedmont's history for half a century. He was particularly useful on secret or delicate missions. As early as 1840 Charles Albert employed him to investigate privately the French frontier fortifications. Della Rocca slung the tin box of an amateur botanist over his shoulder, and, while ostensibly busy in collecting flowers, he learned what was necessary about the French defences. Later, he was sent on a delicate errand of a different kind. After the death of Queen Maria Theresa, Victor Emanuel was urged to marry again, and Napoleon III. hinted that it would be politic for him to ask for the hand of Princess Stephanie of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen. Accordingly, Della Rocca was secretly dispatched to Düsseldorf, where he pretended to be a mere ordinary traveller, bent on seeing the sights of the city, while really hoping to get a glimpse of the Princess. For a while he was baffled. At last, however, he bethought him of asking to visit Prince Hohenzollern's stables, and this brought him an invitation to the palace and the chance he wanted of setting eyes on the Princess herself. He decided that she was too young and shy to suit his master. Among his diplomatic missions we may mention that to Napoleon III., after Orsini's attempt, when the Emperor was greatly exasperated against Piedmont, and Della Rocca's discretion and tact conciliated him. These specimens show what stuff his book contains. It is well worth reading. In writing it, the chivalrous old General has added another historical portrait to the really vital *documens pour servir* of the century.

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*The City Wilderness:* A Settlement Study. By Residents and Associates of the South End House. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1898.

We have in this compact volume an exhaustive study of the "South End" of Boston and its inhabitants. Beginning with the time when the old "Neck" was but a narrow path, often submerged by the tide, the authors trace the changes in the topography of the region, under the influence of increasing business and population. As these demands increased, the flats and marshes were filled in, houses and shops were built, and on half a square mile of made land there now live some 40,000 people. Necessarily the surface of this land is to a great extent too low for residential purposes. The sewage is pumped out, but the dampness cannot be, and the sanitary conditions must be unfavorable in spite of all regulations. Moreover, such portions of the land as were originally fitted for residence, and were covered by well-built houses, are no longer occupied by well-to-do people. The tide of the ocean has been forced back, only to make room for the tide of immigration. This floating scum necessarily deposited itself where it could find a place, and its presence drove away such of the former inhabitants as were able to remove to more agreeable neighborhoods. Their dwellings, built for the housing of single families, have been altered so as to shelter three or four, their yards and gardens have been covered with tenements, and the alleys, intended for the use of garbage-carts, have become the front streets of inferior houses.

The inhabitants of this region represent every nation of Europe and all the continents of the globe. There is a native American element, not of the best, but it is far outnumbered by the heterogeneous mass of immigrants. It must be said that this motley herd somehow manages to lead its varied life with surprisingly little friction and with a certain amount of prosperity. Not more than one-fourth of the families belong to the class called poor, having incomes of less than ten dollars a week, and only one-sixth of them receive alms. That they receive what is better, in the shape of elevating influences, is proved by the appearance of this book. It records a bewildering number of systematic and unsystematic efforts on the part of outsiders to improve the condition of this "city wilderness," not the least of which is to be reckoned such a missionary enterprise as the "South End House." This book, however, is not a record of the work of the "settlement"; it is a study, substantially on the lines followed by Mr. Charles Booth in London, of the physical, racial, social, economic, and political conditions of a community of foreign nature, established within an American community, and comprehended within American citizenship. Such communities are found in all our great cities, and as this investigation is thoroughly scientific in character, it deserves the attention of all who are interested in charitable labors.

We shall pass by the chapters which describe the characteristics of the different races, their employments, their amusements, and their vices, and shall note only that there is no lack of religious influences or of schools of divers kinds. These descriptions do not differ materially from others in similar fields, although it is cheering to find a hopeful spirit lighting up a sombre picture. The chapter on the "Roots of Political Power," however, deserves particular attention as illustrating that degraded form of party government which produces "boss-rule." The description of the development of the local

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"boss," or political leader, is particularly graphic, and is a genuine contribution to political science. The lesson which it bears on its face would seem to be that no progress towards better city government is to be expected so long as there is a great deal of patronage at the disposal of government officers. The local politician, in short, attains his power because he is able to distribute some of the public revenue among his followers. Without that resource he would lose his influence; and his influence increases as the number of "places" offered by the municipal government enlarges and as their emoluments are swollen. In view of this, the anticipation expressed in another chapter that enlarged municipal functions and the limitation of municipal employment to the members of favored guilds will purify our politicians, appears to us inconsistent. No attempt is made to support this theory by evidence, and, as we have noted, the evidence brought forward is against it. But a difference of opinion on this point need not keep us from heartily appreciating the disinterested labors which have resulted in so instructive a volume as this "Settlement Study."

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*The Hittites and their Language.* By C. R. Conder, Lt.-Col. R. E. Dodd, Mead & Co. 8vo. 1898.

Whether with or without reason, it still remains true that scholars are wont to look askance at the writings of certain men whose theories they treat with ill-concealed disdain. The author of the volume before us belongs in this category. Others might easily be mentioned, and it will be remembered that the name of Schliemann figured on the list. It cannot be denied that men like Schliemann, Sayce, Conder, and others are often carried away by their zeal for the subject of their investigations, and advance theories which cannot be maintained under the bright light thrown upon them from the workshop of the humdrum scholar. The world may sneer, if it will, but it is the richer because these men have lived and theorized. By all means let us have cool-headed scholars to control results, but we also need men who are not afraid or ashamed to go ahead and propound theories at the risk of seeing them adjudged fallacious or even chimerical. For science is advanced and the ground is cleared even by a negative result.

In the present book, Col. Conder's thesis is that the Hittites were Mongols who spoke a Mongol (Turanian or Turkish) agglutinative language, and that, therefore, the Hittite inscriptions are to be deciphered by the help of Mongol speech. In his 'Hettitische Inschriften' (1892) Peiser had already declared in favor of comparing the Hittite language with the Turkish, and made an attempt at deciphering the inscriptions. Then came Jensen with his 'Hettiter und Armenier,' in which he classes the Hittite as an agglutinative or suffixing and uninflected language, but nevertheless ranks it as Aryan, and compares it with Armenian, a prefixing and inflected language. Both Jensen (whose work Messerschmidt has severely criticised) and Conder undertake to translate the Hittite inscriptions, but with results so widely divergent that, for the present, laymen must needs suspend judgment, to put the matter mildly.

According to Conder, the Mongol race held undisputed sway in the Tigris-Euphrates valley from 2250 to 1700 B. C. Their empire was first shaken by Egypt (1700 to 1200 B. C.), and was finally overthrown and its inhabitants scattered by the Semitic race in Assyria and Palestine (1200 to 700 B. C.). Their peculiar script ceased to be used before 1500 B. C. The earliest notice of the Hittites in Syria is in the fifteenth century, when their empire extended from Marash to Carchemish and Phœnicia; but as history advances, their empire contracts, until we hear of it only at Carchemish. East of the Euphrates the Hittites were only occasional invaders.

The author next essays to show that his thesis that the first ruling race in western Asia was Mongol, is proved both by the language and the physical type as seen in Hittite monuments. He does not claim for them the Mongol type of the Mantchus or the Chinese, but that of the pure Turks or Tatars of Bactria. These people he calls Sumerians, and contends that their language presented all the main features of the Turkish speech of to-day. These Mongol tribes ruled west of the Euphrates in Syria and Asia Minor before the Semitic race gained power; they were attacked in the west and north by Aryans and in the south by Semitic races, and were finally crushed at about 700 B. C. The texts, written in a very early pictorial script which still exists on rock-cut sculptures throughout all this region, were surely couched in Mongol speech, and not in Aryan or Semitic speech, seeing that the population was certainly Mongol. The peculiar script of the rock-cut sculptures is intimately connected with that of the Sumerians in Chaldea.

Conder next investigates the rock sculptures, the slabs, and seals which are inscribed with Hittite inscriptions, and undertakes to prove that the religious designs found upon them serve to show that the religion of this Mongol race was portrayed by symbolism identical with that of the Sumerians and Akkadians. Religious symbolism, therefore, like racial type and language, supports the contention that the Hittite script was that of the northern Mongols of the earliest age, and dates from about 2250 B. C. The Hittite symbols do not exceed 167 all told, while the Egyptians possess 400, the Babylonians 550, and the Chinese 24,235. The inscriptions are written in boustrophedon style—a fact discovered, we believe, by our Dr. Ward, though no credit is given him for this or his other work along these lines.

Between the Hittite hieroglyphs and the Cypriote syllabary the author draws a parallel which seems to have a plausible basis, and then he proceeds to show that the Cypriote emblems were originated by a people who spoke a Mongol language. For instance, a Cypriote sign having the outline of two mountains has the sound *mi;* we, therefore, must hunt for a language in which *mi* means "mountain" or "country," if we would find the language of those who invented the script. Similarly, a sign representing a man holding a stick has the sound of *ta* or *da*. Accordingly, in the language of the inventors of the script *ta* or *da* must mean *beat* or *drive*. And so on. These conditions are fulfilled in Mongol speech, where *ma* and *mi* do mean "earth," "land," or "place," and *da* means "to drive." Conder next proves that internal evidence of the texts themselves shows that the structure of the language is Mongol, that is, agglutinative, using suffixes and post-positions instead of prefixes and prepositions.

Col. Conder then falls foul of De Rougé and his theory as to the origin of the alphabet, and shows that in early Egyptian Hieratic *Aleph* did not mean "ox," nor *Beth* "house," etc., as we should naturally expect from their Phœnician names. But we do find that in old Mongol *ā* or *av* means "bull," and in Akkadian *ab* (Turkish *ev*) means "house." Therefore, we owe the invention of the alphabet to the Hittites and not to the Egyptians. This thesis, we believe, was maintained by Sayce some ten years ago in his book, 'The Hittites.' Scholars generally believe that De Rougé's theory is builded upon the adamantine rock, and therefore may not be undermined. But there are some who chafe under this yoke, and Evans, for instance, in his masterful essay, 'Primitive Pictographs and a Præ-Phœnician Script from Crete and the Peloponnese,' ultimately points to the Hittites as the original inventors of our alphabet.

Now, whatever may be the final word in regard to all this theory, it has much in it that is plausible, much that is suggestive, as well as much that is wrong. The Elamites, Kassites, and Sumerians have nothing to do with the Hittites, so that the first chapters of the book might have been omitted. Assyriologists will certainly call Col. Conder to account for his comparison of the Hittite hieroglyphs with the archaic script of Babylonia, and philologists will hardly approve of his linguistic methods.

The results of Col. Conder's labors are set forth in the several appendixes. Appendix i. deals with Chronology, ii. with the Akkadian language, iii. with Deities and Myths, iv. with the Hittite syllabary, consisting of 167 symbols, v. with the Origin of the Alphabet; vi. gives a translation of the Hittite texts, vii. gives the Hittite vocabulary. At the end of the volume we find sixteen plates containing the known Hittite inscriptions. These plates will be valuable, although much less so than if they had been larger. In the front of the volume a map professes to show the distribution of the Hittite monuments, but it fails singularly to do so. It were difficult to discover why the author has neglected to note the existence of Hittite monuments at El Flatun Puñar, Fassiller, Izghin, Arsian Tash, El Bostan, and Singhirli; but such is the fact.

Col. Conder does not wield a facile pen, for his pages are disfigured by such sentences as this: "Ten years of study seem to result in the historical rather than the religious being the true explanation" (p. 159), or this: "In conclusion of the present chapter, it is proposed to consider the later history of the script" (also p. 159).

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*Eléments de Botanique.* Par Ph. Van Tieghem. Paris. 1898.

Of late years there have been few greater surprises in botany than that which has been given by Prof. Van Tieghem's revolutionary proposal to change the system of classification of plants. So-called natural systems of classification of organisms are expressions of views as to relationships. Under the old dogma of constancy of species, such a thing as a natural system, in the sense of its expressing relationship by descent, was manifestly an impossiblity. Degrees of difference and of likeness were carefully weighed, and from the results were constructed sys-

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tems which were expressions of these degrees. Some of the systems were characterized by most interesting collocations of species, and were helpful in many ways. The most widely accepted of these systems which had their birth under the dominance of the belief that species did not greatly change, was the work of many hands. In its composite form, it was adopted by innumerable writers, and is even now the basis of some of our most convenient manuals. But it became plain, after the general acceptance of a working theory of evolution, that the established system must be revised. It was admitted that the marvellous sagacity of its constructors had, in truth, anticipated many of the results reached by applying the theory of natural selection, but the time appeared to have come for a complete revision in accordance with the new luminous thought. This work fell to the hands of certain Germans, and their reconstruction was thorough. Hanstein, De Bary, Eichler, Engler, and many others, coöperated in the endeavor, and although the system was not finished at one *coup*, it was marvellously consistent. Its usefulness as a practical system has been everywhere acknowledged to a greater or less extent, and it is, day by day, more and more approving itself to its users. It appears to be a clear statement of the birth-relations between species of plants.

A few years ago, Prof. Van Tieghem of Paris undertook the study of certain parasitic plants of the higher class, and came to remarkable conclusions as to the structure of their seeds. The investigation has been continued with but few interruptions from that time to the present, but its course has traversed some fields outside of its earlier limits. As a consequence of these excursions, the author began to suspect that there had been an overlooking of obscure affinities even where the light had seemed brightest. In communications to the French Academy, Prof. Van Tieghem gave from time to time fragments of his discoveries, and last year presented a synthetic view—a system, in fact. The proposed system differs in so many particulars from the recently established one which we have referred to, that it has been looked upon in most quarters as based on insecure foundations. There has been a general feeling that the results attained were of extreme interest, but could not be consolidated into a unified working system of classification.

In the handbook now before us, Prof. Van Tieghem makes a fair trial of his system, and commends it to the attention of elementary students. This is of the nature of a distinct challenge, and the challenge will no doubt be eagerly accepted by many. We must frankly say that the boldness of such a challenge commands respect, and, however the contest may terminate, cannot fail to have profound influence upon existing systems. In stating this to the lay reader, one feels as if he ought to give in untechnical language the reasons for this conviction. Such a presentation of the case is, however, plainly impossible from its very nature, and we can only hint at even the most striking of the innovations.

As everybody knows, there are two great groups of higher plants known respectively as dicotyledons and monocotyledons; the dividing line between them, based on the number of seed leaves, being associated with other less constant but yet strongly marked characters. Among these secondary characters are the contrasts as to structure of the stems, veining of the leaves, and numerical plan of the blossoms. The line between the two groups was laid down as long ago as the close of the seventeenth century by the great master, John Ray, and nothing has been done from that time to this to obliterate the line. But, as may be supposed, much thought has been given, since the idea of selection assumed sway, to the fundamental question of the relationship between these groups. Did they spring fully differentiated from a common stock, or did one develop from the other at a later period, and so on? Such answers are hard to obtain, but a few of them seem to be nearly within reach. The questions and answers are purely speculative, and have, at first sight, little or nothing to do with the questions of a practical character as to what plants are on this side and what are on that side of John Ray's line. It would seem to most persons to be a matter of inspection and counting whether grasses, for instance, have in their seeds one cotyledon or two. In such inspection and counting, everybody has made out for the grasses only one cotyledon or seed-leaf in the embryo, and hence, from John Ray's time down to Van Tieghem's, grasses have been by common consent termed monocotyledonous. But Prof. Van Tieghem has detected a rudimentary second cotyledon in the embryo of grasses, and has associated this discovery with certain others.

As a result of his interpretation, he places the grasses in a quasi-intermediate class, and puts by their side a vagrant order of dicotyledons which have held an uncertain position in all systems. This may indicate the revolutionary character of Prof. Van Tieghem's work. It may also indicate to our botanical teachers that in his elementary treatise may be found many surprises worth examining. And we may say to such teachers that they will find the little handbook thoroughly French in its lucidity, and charming from beginning to the end.

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*Modern American Oratory:* Seven Representative Orations. Edited, with Notes, and an Essay on the Theory of Oratory, by Ralph Curtis Ringwalt. Henry Holt & Co. 1898. Pp. vi, 329.

Mr. Ringwalt prints here, without abridgment, addresses delivered by Schurz, Black, Phillips, Depew, Curtis, Grady, and Beecher, as specimens of the chief styles into which oratory is divided; with the additions indicated on his titlepage. There is, further, a bibliography of orators and oratory. The volume is intended as a textbook, containing both precept and example for young speakers. There are pretty abundant references to previous treatises, and at the same time the determination to be untrammelled by the past is pushed to paradox, contempt being expressed at the very outset for the "popular estimate which ranks Edmund Burke among the world's great orators." After reading carefully every word of the introductory treatise, one is forced back upon the conclusion that Mr. Ringwalt, like all his predecessors, will do good service by teaching young orators some things to avoid; but as soon as they attempt to construct orations by his precepts, they will lose the very essence of all oratory—reality. There are, in some of his model orations, many passages in the falsest taste, which were perhaps carried off at the time by the personality of the speaker, but which would be very likely to infect a college speaker by the taint of their influence.

Mr. Ringwalt's English is by no means above criticism. He says "masterful" for "masterly" (p. 12), "look to" for "look at" (p. 13), "proportion" for "portion" (p. 61). He upholds Cicero's Oration for Milo as a model of narrative oratory; yet he must know it was never delivered, and consequently lacks one of his own essentials for a really model speech.

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## BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Albalat, Antoine. L'Art d'Écrire Enseigné en Vingt Leçons. Paris: Colin & Cie.
Banks, Rev. L. A. Anecdotes and Morals. Funk & Wagnalls Co. $1.50.
Berry, Arthur. A Short History of Astronomy. Scribners. $1.50.
Botsford, G. W. A History of Greece for High Schools and Academies. Macmillan. $1.10.
Brain, Belle M. The Transformation of Hawaii. F. H. Revell Co. $1.
Chapman's Homer. 2 vols. [Temple Classics.] London: Dent; New York: Macmillan. $1.
Cleveland, Helen M. Historical Readers. Book I. Period of Discovery. Boston: B. H. Sanborn & Co. 25c.
Collingwood, S. D. The Life and Letters of Lewis Carroll. Century Co. $2.50.
Conrad, L. Grüsse an meine Freunde in New York. New York: Dyrsen & Pfeiffer.
Coues, Elliott. Forty Years a Fur-Trader on the Upper Missouri. Personal Narrative of Charles Larpenteur, 1833-1872. 2 vols. F. P. Harper.
Cust, Lionel. The Master E. S. and the 'Ars Moriendi': A Chapter in the History of Engraving. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Henry Frowde.
Davenport, C. B. Experimental Morphology. Part Second. Macmillan. $2.
Eliot, George. Silas Marner. Boston: Allyn & Bacon. 40c.
Evans, Sebastian. The High History of the Holy Grail. 2 vols. [Temple Classics.] London: Dent; New York: Macmillan. $1.
Farnell, George. Rev. Josiah Hilton, the Apostle of the New Age. Providence: Journal of Commerce Co.
Fonseca, João Severiano da. Voyage autour du Brésil. Rio de Janeiro: A. Lavignasse, Filho & Co.
Gospel of the Stars; or, Wonders of Astrology. Continental Publishing Co. $1.
Green, Rev. S. G. The Christian Creed and the Creeds of Christendom. Macmillan. $1.75.
Guerber, H. A. The Story of the Thirteen Colonies. American Book Co.
Haeckel, Ernst. The Last Link. Our Present Knowledge of the Descent of Man. London: A. & C. Black; New York: Macmillan. $1.
Hanks, Beulah D. For the Honor of a Child. Continental Publishing Co. 75c.
Henderson, Prof. C. R. Social Settlements. New York: Lentilhon & Co. 50c.
Hovey, Richard. Along the Trail. A Book of Lyrics. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co. $1.50.
Hoyt, Deristhe L. The World's Painters and their Pictures. Boston: Ginn & Co. $1.40.
Hume, Fergus. The Clock Struck One. F. Warne & Co. $1.25.
Huntley, Florence. Harmonics of Evolution. Chicago: The Author. $2.
Johnson, R. B. Eighteenth Century Letters. 2 vols. Henry Holt & Co.
King, W. N. The Story of the War of 1898. Illustrated. P. F. Collier.
Kirtland, J. C., jr. Selections from the Correspondence of Cicero. American Book Co.
La France au milieu du xviii. siècle. D'après le Journal du Marquis d'Argenson. Paris: A. Colin & Cie.
Lala, Ramon L. The Philippine Islands. Continental Publishing Co. $2.50.
La Main Malheureuse. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. 25c.
Lawler, John. Book Auctions in England in the Seventeenth Century. London: Elliot Stock; New York: Armstrong. $1.25.
Lawton, Prof. W. C. The Successors of Homer. Macmillan. $1.50.
Lecky, W. E. H. Democracy and Liberty. 2 vols. New ed. Longmans, Green & Co. $5.
Luquer, L. McI. Minerals in Rock Sections. D. Van Nostrand Co.
Marr, J. E. The Principles of Stratigraphical Geology. Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan. $1.60.
Merriman, H. S. Young Mistley. New York: A. Mackel & Co.
Noyes, Minna B. Twilight Stories. New and enlarged ed. Hartford, Conn.: T. J. Spencer. 50c.
Patterson, C. B. New Thought Essays. New York: Alliance Publishing Co. $1.
Pierce, C. A. Kufu and Other Poems. St. Louis, Mo.: The Author.
Porter, Mrs. Gerald. Annals of a Publishing House. John Blackwood. Scribners. $7.50.
Pusey, Rev. E. B. Spiritual Letters. Longmans, Green & Co.
Quirós, Manuel G. Entretenimientos Poéticos. Havana: El Figaro.
Récéjac, E. Essay on the Bases of the Mystic Knowledge. Scribners. $2.50.
Renouvier, Ch., and Prat, L. La Nouvelle Monadologie. Paris: Colin & Cie.
Sargent, Prof. C. S. The Silva of North America. Vol. XII. Coniferæ. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.
Savary, John. Poems of Expansion. F. T. Neely.
Stone, W. J. On the Use of Classical Metres in English. Oxford: University Press; New York: Henry Frowde.
Travers, Graham. Windyhaugh: A Novel. Appletons.
Varley, Henry. Christian Science Examined. F. H. Revell Co. 15c.
Walker, F. A. Discussions in Education. Henry Holt & Co.

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